was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place. 361

(16) *Ṫsulkt*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently. [226]

(17) *Nuqâṣmâts*, "The Place of Much *qâṣmâts*" (the fern *Asplenium cyclosorum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible. [137]

*(18) *Snulɔli*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bella Coola River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water ouzel perched on its back. [825]

(19) *Oẓmikumẓ:* on the lower end of the island near Hagenburg post office, eleven miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(20) *Nukils*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The first occupant was said to have been *Ėkamkila*, which means, "The First of All." [173]

*(21) *Ásän-än-i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay scooped out by the Bella Coola: south side, slightly above the influx of the *Nusälsum* River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

*(22) *Nusqalst*, "The Place of *Sqalstutl*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mountain of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Sqalstutl* is a kind of stone suit- [316]

805 "The Coming of *Ano'likwolsaix*."[3]

821 Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *usxsiutl*, "The Time for *Kusiut* Dances,"[4] or *Siqulxwaix di Siut*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Siumt*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Sxwolmgnam*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sxlikl*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Aloansdimut*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Łmolis di Nusäxkämg*, "The Potlatch of the *Nusäxkämg*" (I, p. 289).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Siaqam*, "When [825] Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December one.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Sikulg*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinomwak*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Olachen."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sisäml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and incoherent, but it was the best available.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

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771 In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

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[3] See vol. II, p. 8 for a description of this mythical being.

[4] See vol. II, chap. 1, for a description of these dances.

rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the 776*
functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many [551]
names, corresponding to his membership in various societies,
his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere
nicknames, so has *Ālquntām*, who is a superman, many names,
according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable [782]
for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ālquntām*, yet it is common for
him to pray to *Mınakais* or *Tātā*, other names for the same
being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Ālquntām*, which
in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sınnālotla*, *Mınakais*, *Smaialotla*, and *Nuyekmālsaix* are one, but
that *Ālquntām*, *Snusılkāls*, and *Nonodjonostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents
no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own [424]
myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, [184]
without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, [771]
if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths.
Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Ālquntām*.

The most obvious attribute of *Ālquntām* is connected with 776*
the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In 821
form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense
heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ālquntām* enters [825] ●
the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon;
reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

accordingly created four supernatural Carpenters. They in turn made a number of workers, *älqwatlhntutl nunuqomaxmuly*. These beings, endowed with enormous power by *Älquntäm*, chiselled from wood a number of human beings, the forefathers of mankind. Some men state that this was done by the four Carpenters, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were merely supervisors. No explanation is given of the means used by *Älquntäm* to give life to the beings thus created. The workers made not only human bodies, but constructed their mentality, including the speech. *Nusmät-a* contains a large number of rooms, in each of which a different set of Indians, with a different language, was manufactured; thus is explained the diversity of tongues among the people of British Columbia. The Carpenters did not confine their attention to men and women. Supernatural beings, animals, birds, trees, flowers, fish, mountains, rivers, perhaps even moon and stars, all were created almost simultaneously by them under the direction of *Älquntäm* in *Nusmät-a*. The sun alone was not made in this way. *Älquntäm* chose the proper plumage or fur for each bird and animal, which the Carpenters painted and carved according to his instructions. As they provided men with different languages, so they furnished the birds and beasts with their speech, which men can no longer understand. Each was given the necessary tools for existence on the earth below; sharp incisors to beaver, strong talons to eagle, a penetrating eye to heron, and so on. The Bella Coola do not regard birds and animals as being of a lower order than themselves, for all were created by the same power, at the same time; in many respects they consider that they belong to a higher plane than human beings. It would be too great a digression to include at this point a number of myths describing the creation, but these will be found in vol. I, chap. VI.

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Mythology does not record in detail the sending down to this earth of trees and plants or of the forefathers of all other Indian tribes; but the manner in which the first Bella Coola arrived is clearly stated. Around the walls of *Nusmät-a* were 773

the rescue of *Lxwamxwamidix* they saw him being carried downstream 776*
to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised [539]
at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could [761]
give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was
merely one of those dwelling under the river.

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but [825] ●
though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are
really their supernatural prototypes.

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in [761]
this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny
rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea
being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is
Q̣omoqwa (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath
the ocean, as *Alquntam* is lord of those dwelling above. He
lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the
sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella
Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,[16]
and assume that their behaviour in *Q̣omoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds
to that of human beings in the house of an earthly
chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful 773
than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface 776*
of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various
occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it
contained. These accounts have become family myths and [424]
are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I. [184]
Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree
more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens
of the sea appear in *Q̣omoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other
myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls
and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Q̣omoqwa*.
Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of
the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish
being especially proficient in this respect. *Q̣omoqwa* resents
any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is
unkind to them.

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[16] Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
* 776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.

[575] Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina.*[17] It, too,
brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west.
Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own
stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for
kusiut dancers. Although both *Noäkxnm* and *Winwina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to
them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural
power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in con-
nection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winäs di Sā·łłdjo·ts*, "The War-
Party of the Tide," or *Winäs di Qala*, "The War-Party of the
Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is
a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are
able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The
members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the
craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo·xl'*.
This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown
in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat imme-
diately aft of the place from which water is bailed and con-
stantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive
jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo·xl'*, and any-
one placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake
like *Sxlo·xl'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of
danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an
even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Sxlo·xl'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
* 776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
●825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has hap-
pened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for
761 a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like,
and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
* 776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore

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789 [17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

*776 talons resembling, but larger than, those of an eagle. It has no tail. The great strength of these animals rests in the fact that their eyes revolve in their sockets, so that, when reversed, piercing beams shoot forth which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. Having thus stunned its victim, the *snɪnɪq* picks him up and stuffs him into a broad-mouthed basket, carried on the back. It is provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards so that a person thrust within cannot climb out. Human beings are carried in this way to the beast's lair, a cave in the mountains, where they are devoured [825] at leisure. Wolves always accompany *snɪnɪq*; in fact, they may almost be termed attendants upon them (see vol. II, chap. v). Like other supernatural creatures, *snɪnɪq* are impervious [789] to most mortal weapons, but there is one method of overcoming them. If a hunter cut himself on the under side of his right leg so that the blood flows freely, and smears a bullet with this, it can kill a *snɪnɪq*. Similar success is gained by biting the tongue and coating the bullet with blood so obtained.

Another animal which is rendered powerless by the same charm is the *boqs*. This beast somewhat resembles a man, its hands especially, and the region around the eyes being distinctly human. It walks on its hind legs, in a stooping posture, its long arms swinging below the knees; in height it is rather less than the average man. The entire body, except the face, is covered with long hair, the growth being most profuse on the chest which is large, corresponding to the great strength of the animal. The most peculiar feature of the animal is its penis, which is so long that it must be rolled up and carried in the arms when the creature is walking; it terrifies its enemies by striking tree-trunks and breaking branches with its un-
539 coiled organ. It is said that a woman was once drawing water
*776 at the edge of a stream when a *boqs*, concealed on the other shore, extended its penis under the water to the further bank and held intercourse with her. The contact rendered her powerless, as if turned to stone; she could neither flee nor remove the organ. Her companions tried unsuccessfully to

cut the organ until one of them brought a salalberry leaf, whereupon the monster, dreading its razor-like edge, withdrew. 539 776*

The following stories illustrate, better than any description, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these animals.

Not many years ago a certain *Qāk'lis* was encamped with his wife and child in the Bay of the Thousand Islands, *Āltukwlāksoˑs*, about two miles above Namu, one of the haunts of *boqs*. He heard a number of the creatures in the forest behind him and seized his gun, at the same time calling out to them to go away. Instead, the breaking of branches and beating upon tree-trunks came nearer. Becoming alarmed, he called out once more: "Go away, or you shall feel my power." They still approached and *Qāk'lis* fired in the direction of the sounds. There followed a wild commotion in the forest, roars, grunts, pounding, and the breaking of branches. The hunter, now thoroughly alarmed, told his wife and child to embark in the canoe while he covered their retreat with his gun. He followed them without molestation, and anchored his craft not far from shore. The *boqs* could be heard plainly as they rushed to and fro on the beach, but only the vague outlines of their forms were visible in the darkness. Presently, though there was no wind, the canoe began to roll as if in a heavy sea. *Qāk'lis* decided to flee to Restoration Bay, but before he had gone far his paddle struck the bottom, although he was in mid-channel. Looking up, he saw that the mountains were higher than usual; the *boqs* had, by their supernatural power, raised the whole area so that the water had been almost entirely drained away. They are the only supernatural beings with this power. *Qāk'lis* jumped overboard into water which reached only to his knees, and towed his canoe to Restoration Bay, the *boqs* following him along the shore.[19] [823]

This is not the only occasion on which *boqs* have appeared near Restoration Bay. Within the life-time of the father of an informant, a chief set out with some friends from Kwatna, bound for Namu. They travelled overland to Restoration Bay, thence by canoe, making the journey without incident. When returning, they decided to gather clams on the rocky point of the bay. As the craft shot around the tip of the promontory, they saw a *boqs* gathering shell-fish. The paddlers backed their canoe behind some rocks whence they could

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[19] One of the features which the Bella Coola consider most surprising about this incident is that he did not tread upon the fish which must have been driven into the shallows. [825]

been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. 776*
Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman 789
threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of
shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings [825]●
abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural 776*
animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of indefinite form which they term *snusx̣*. Any supernatural creature, a *bäbunk‘* for example, is spoken of as a *snusx̣* in
general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one [184]
Bella Coola may describe as a *snusx̣* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be learnt, there is no designation other than *snusx̣* for creatures
which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon, [825]
and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes
are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these crea- 761
tures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to 776*
the beholder. One of the haunts of *snusx̣* is beneath the glacier
on Mount *Oq̣wan·i*, behind the small mountain which rises [778]
behind *Q̣omqo·ts*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *snusx̣* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other *snusx̣* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of [778]

kill him. The youth, learning of this decision, concluded that he might 539
as well face the unknown peril of the lake as the certain death to be 776*
meted out by his fellows, so he asked them to allow him to go swimming
in the lake to prove that something dangerous was there. They granted
that request, as well as a further one, that he be sewn up in a tight-fitting suit of caribou-skin, and armed with a knife.

"Now come with me," he said to his fellow-villagers when he was ready.

They waited on the shore while he swam out into the lake singing. Presently the crackling and sucking sound was heard, and soon the spectators were forced to clutch tree-trunks to keep themselves from being drawn into the lake, while their legs were blown out horizontally as the youth's had been on the previous occasion. When the wind subsided the swimmer had vanished.

He had been sucked into the stomach of a *sḵămtsk* without being killed. Groping around, he found the corpse of the chief's son from which he cut the belt and put it on himself. Then he made his way to the neck of the monster, cut a hole through it, and dived out. The surface was so far up that he was at his last gasp when his head rose above it. He swam ashore and the evidence of the belt confirmed his story. The carcass of the *sḵămtsk* floated to the surface not long afterwards.

In addition to the anthropomorphic beings already de- 776*
scribed as resident beneath the surface of the ocean, super-
natural animal monsters also dwell there. One of the most
dreaded is the *ḱulxta*, which suck wooden objects down to the
bottom of the sea. It resembles pitch, and when once it comes
in contact with a canoe, it cannot be removed. The Bella [825] ●
Coola attribute supernatural power to the octopus also, thus
increasing the dread with which the animal would be regarded
in any case. They believe that it is fond of gum and fre-
quently comes to land to obtain it. It is said that the gum is
never voided, but remains in a suck within the creature's
stomach. One informant stated that within his mother's life- 539
time, a man walking near *Tăl·io* heard a smacking sound, like 776*
someone chewing noisily. He knew what must be the cause,
but idly decided to investigate. It was an octopus. The beast
was clambering down from the tree, using two of its arms to help
it. Not realizing his danger, the man allowed himself to be

539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 776 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was
carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

● [825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them.
539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 776 lowing incident illustrates this point.

> The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years
> 825 for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:
>
> "My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."
>
> A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:
>
> "In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."
>
> His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 776 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
789 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[781] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not
one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural 776*
animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if 789
worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. [824]
Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked
salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees
a dangerous creature such as a *snunq*, he chews the two together
and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly
animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these
methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a [824]
matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule
it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them
their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful [841]
of all charms are pads that have been used by women during
their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful
to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from
the supernatural water beings.[29]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical 776*
animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated 789
by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the
direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be 821
discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, [224]
which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it
down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural
phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle
down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored
for some time within a house, has become so humanized that
it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction
of the wind.

The mythical monsters already described are not the only 776*
animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They 825 ●
believe that in the beginning *Älquntäm* created men and beasts 773
at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the
greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different
plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

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[29] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xi.

* 776 ● 825 [773] forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Ālquntäm*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Ālquntäm* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snusx̣*, *snınq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Ālquntäm*. Likewise, [789] when a *snusx̣* or a *snınq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do [756] so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, 776*
or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift 825 ●
the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have
had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Ⱥlquntäm* [756]
gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of
fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them [773]
unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different
creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to
do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke
that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in
colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a
beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on.
When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, [823]
as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and
when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter
has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear [756]
the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings,
they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects
behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow,
of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own
shamans, grizzly bear, *snınıq*, and wolverine; these three also
dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like
brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously
together in that other part of their life which only
shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter [224]
always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey.
The animals know about the actions of human beings and [784]
show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow
themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example,
they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon [224]
have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of
that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human [773]
beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to
the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintellig- [538]
ible without understanding the attitude of the people to the
animal and bird kingdoms.

* 776 ● 825 845 Fish, too, are regarded in the same light. Indeed, there is a particularly close affinity between men and salmon, for twins are born through the instrumentality of the latter. Just how this occurs no Bella Coola knows, but a twin and salmon are regarded almost as brothers. In days when men were more powerful than now, a twin was especially liked by animals. Through his connection with salmon, a *ko'la* (the term applied to a twin associated with a salmon) could understand the speech of birds, animals, and fish. In many instances he could also assume salmon form at will.

* 776 787 825 In view of beliefs of this kind it is not surprising that the Bella Coola attribute great powers even to beasts well known to them. In the story recorded in vol. I, p. 55, the War-Party of the Tides was summoned by the speaking of a dog. A belief persists that danger is always present when a dog acts in an unusual way, though this can be avoided by killing it at once. In July, 1922, a visit was made to an elderly Bella Coola early one morning. The man was in a state of absolute terror. The preceding night he had locked his pet dog outside his house to give warning if anyone approached, but when he awoke in the morning, it was curled up asleep as usual at the foot of his bed. There was no possible hole through which it could have entered, so it seemed to the owner that his dog must have transformed itself into some minute animal and made its way beneath the door. The only other explanation was that its master, hearing in his sleep the whimpering of his pet, had got out of bed to let it in, without remembering that he had done so. To the writer this seemed the probable explanation, especially when the old man admitted that he had been in the habit of walking in his sleep in his younger days, but the Bella Coola was not satisfied. He could not decide whether or not to kill the dog, a great favourite, but finally decided not to do so. The incident was mentioned to another informant, who was greatly worried and assumed it to be an omen of death to the dog's master. His only comfort lay in the fact

that the animal had not spoken, a sure intimation of insanity and death unless it is killed immediately. 776* 787

A few years ago a dog gave warning to its master by placing its paws on his shoulders as he sat on the ground, and howling over his head. Such unusual behaviour should have convinced him of the necessity of killing his pet to avert some calamity, but he paid no attention to it. A few days later, it seemed to him that he saw the face of a friend appear at an uncurtained upper window where no human being could be. The next morning he found an axe, which he had long lost and supposed stolen, imbedded far up in a tree near his house. These three incidents all presaged disaster, and a few days later he shot and killed himself when crazed by drink. 825 [762]

The actions of wild animals are considered even more important. Not many years ago a famous Kimsquit hunter saw a bear and attempted to shoot it. He raised his musket and took careful aim, but was prevented from pulling the trigger. This should have warned him of the potency of the animal, and of the wisdom of avoiding the spot in future. The bear moved away without molesting him, but exactly one year later he was killed by a mountain goat at precisely the same place. No one knows which supernatural being had chosen to assume two forms in that locality.

The Bella Coola believe that animals, being supernatural, have powers and abilities which they conceal from the white man. Wolves do not kill their prey with their fangs, but with bird arrows which shamans alone can see; beaver do not cut with their teeth, but with crook-handled adzes. Even more striking is the virility of yearling mountain goats. An old Bella Coola described how he and another man were once hunting goats. His partner killed a fat yearling, which they laid on its back and skinned. The killer was about to dismember it, when the animal began to kick. First it shook one hind leg, then the other, then in succession each fore-leg, and lastly its head. Then the goat stood up and gave itself a shake, which caused the skin to return to its proper position, 776* 825

* 776 and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say
● 825 that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which
[774] make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power
[224] possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with
[226] great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ältakän·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ältakän·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwaläs*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

539 Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may
* 776 be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Alłät·iaiuł*
825 (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs
755 of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the
[753] offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539 776 * 825 ● 755

K̓wilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *P̓e·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing [789] behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *K̓wilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became [753] larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *K̓wilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded [841] cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *K̓wilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

K̓wilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with 825 775 regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Älquntäm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food 224 for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[31] ascends [774]

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[31] *Xusmtsodz*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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[775] [774] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body.[illegible] Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an [785] animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use [411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

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[183] [illegible] There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does 224
not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ālkun·i-* 825
gaxnum, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," [552]
that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Asaikaiyutsmaxnum*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly [178]
falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the [262]
skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are 825
choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know [775]
that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their [776] *
worthless blankets in accordance with *Ālquntām*'s decrees. At [823]
that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From [262]
the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-762) until [784]
the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them [562]
or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter con- 211
nected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride 424
to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not 773
affect his daily life.

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of 825
the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly
bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon,
sķāmtsk, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, [776] *
susiutl. To these must be added the sun, because some of the
original people came to earth in human form by sliding down
his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nulhnikta*, the posts which [772]
stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number
of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form.
The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly [829]
common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. Ac-
cording to some accounts it was these posts which supported [772]
the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant 424
past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven 779
pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The
matter was approached from every possible angle and not the 825
slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same
animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He
said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians [648]
from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once
asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 773 825 [556] Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kolelta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Älquntäm* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tx̣ämätl*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Q̣watlunta*.

Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Q̣watlunta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *q̣watlnakam*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *q̣watlunta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *q̣watlunta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

424 773 825 211

424 779 825 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not [582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 424 773 825 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet they have some importance in the realm of social life. The portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. [532] [556] [304] Anyone seeing such a design is impressed with the glories of the family history of the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[illegible] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his 000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

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[171] [184] [illegible] It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath [386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

It is said, half
jocularly, that a man grows to resemble his ancestral cloak; if, for example, one man's is the eagle, his hair turns white early, whereas that of another with raven crest long preserves its blackness. More definite, is the use as a signal for attack, of a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. Finally, when a man whose crest is the raven hears one of these birds calling, he cries out: 424 773 825● [726]

"Hello, *ḳwatltuntao* [the vocative form], it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of ravens to bear news.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their crests does not differ from that of mingled respect and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE RAVEN

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Raven differ so fundamentally from those respecting other birds and animals, that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning of time, when *Ălquntām* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he despatched Raven to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Raven was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in avian form, then changed to a man, but his cloak did not float back to the land above as did those of the other first-comers. Instead, it remained in the world below where he could resume it at will. *Ălquntām* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the arts and crafts of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these explorations he used to assume raven form and set off in his canoe, *Tobunkl*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed. Owing to the power that *Ălquntām* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast. 773 776* 825

773 Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not
*776 always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inven-
●825 tions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he
[538] indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Älquntäm* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qwax*, but
[552] this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nowakila*; *Sänuximäxots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kiłałxamxwus*, "The Wise One"; *Nu'oxwatlamnaix*, "The Widener";[31] *Qunqwunum uldidä sxem*, "The Unlooser of Light";[32] *Qax·äxwsila*, *Qwai·lils*, and *Qowi*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nowakila*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The
[829] Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Älquntäm*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

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[31] Because he is supposed to have widened rivers for several of the first settlers.

[32] Owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have unveiled the sun.

Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily: 539 776*

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house." 761

Disgusted at this reception, *O·mistlmai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was [304]
really his son. He called on him to return, but *O·mistlmai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death.

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, 771
and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, 761
few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to 776*
death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief.

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, bene- 539
ficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella 825
Coola River.[27]

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, [774]
though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone

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[27] This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon [771]
were sent down by *Alquntäm* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Neškynm* and *Winwina*.

539 at the back of the neck; this is called *nulkălxita* by the Bella Coola and
825 it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is
located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat
[774] holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he
[772] would have to visit *Miăłtawa*, the land of the salmon far beyond the
western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tobunkł*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tobunkł* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly 539 grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon men cried out in anger and leapt into their canoes for 825 pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught *Tobυnkl* in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The gashes made in the rocks [778] by his shoves are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it became petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the south of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river.

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kimsquit man.

It describes how Raven went alone in *Tobυnkl* to the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the home of *Skatpts*, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of that fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had omitted from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palate of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and *Skatpts* said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kimsquit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all steel-head salmon, which are still called *Samsamikdimut di Qwax*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other [262] salmon.

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kimsquit.

None of these fish then inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A gull happened to catch a single herring far from shore and brought it to Raven, who [772] smeared *Tobυnkl* with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the home

539 825 of a woman, *Sekakmān·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmān·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmān·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 824 539 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Slexlekwailx̣*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Slexlekwailx̣* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Älquntäm* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of [778] [823]

a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit 773 of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone 778 depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. 823 Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Ânilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nusqalät·a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname [551] to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre 773 olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net [227] according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same [825] ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not 773 embodied in elaborate myths. 823 For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. [825] These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

instructed people about the significance of death omens; it 773
was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was [622]
Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as [823]
meeting-places for chiefs.

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, 773
teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Âlquntäm*, 776
enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to
create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but
much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to
mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic
beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in
belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none [825] ●
of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still
exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any
interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him
only as a figure of mythology and ancient history.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoo- 776
morphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance 824
is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Âlquntäm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored.

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a
Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the [535]
kusiut dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring [575]
(II, p. 196).

nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nusmāt·a*. 761 775 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [827] [825] [539]

761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmät·a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the following story.

[539] [827] A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Älquntäm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmät·a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. [783] He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[31] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[32] As he scours himself, he asks *Mınakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Älquntäm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body.

Mınakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. [821] When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray:

"Please clean your face, *Mınakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mınakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [726] [785] [515] [296] [823] [825]

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[31] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

[32] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble.

782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each member
224 of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination,
a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mιnakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Ālqunt̄am*, under the name of *Mιnakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are
sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Mιnakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
●825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qwax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head
smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too
ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
821 community. In addition, information was obtained about
two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning
821 of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[785] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father
[177] of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made
between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice
they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when
camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some
dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request
more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the
fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being
to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which
the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[133] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[756]

the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, 782
there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman [133]
passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water 502
and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no 756
shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is [776]
T̓łitcāplilān·a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and
gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible [224]
animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws
them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago,
T̓łitcāplilān·a appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, [773]
and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *T̓łitcāplilān·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *T̓łitcāplilān·a*.

Mınakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also [776]
given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war
or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but [484]
before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful
to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and 824
four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle 825
down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers,
but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ăłquntām*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on pre- 775
sents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the 782
land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each member of the party. 831 Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to 785 ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather frightened. [837] However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside him, and he was able to kill it easily. [622] Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

The power which had brought the seals within reach of the 831 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual 785 acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with [224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and [825] thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean" [783] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chastity in accordance with a family tradition. [184] One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always 224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the 785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his 224
generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the 785
rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps
with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously
until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and
fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream.
Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and
washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight
nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar
contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty [801]
in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power [836]
in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it
is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know [184]
this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal
carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is
potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence
have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices.
Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect [825]
of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals
has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness [783]
pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter
solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in
June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse.
In September or October, when ready to leave for
the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights;
each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning
the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is
obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for
four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[24] is to observe continence
for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately [824]
afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[25] as pos- [278]

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[24] The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord. [211]

[25] Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

224 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines
785 have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before
washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all
[824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals
[278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the
[783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly
to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated.
These eight nights of continence are followed by two further
periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus
fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition
peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain
restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from
washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary
for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into
his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the
last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he
must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of
course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and
at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife.
Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from
[837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's
wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her
for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain
to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed
on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do
● [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform
ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there
831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and
785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but
a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in
[833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the
[195] common term, *e·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut*
which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

533
capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or
Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *susaok* 556 *
explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity 575
of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes [535]
into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears,
recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the
accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard 556 *
to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until 575
after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told
that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes
into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front
door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange
power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now,
for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through
the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola [776]
supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral
crest, but the *susaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated
to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a super-
natural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an ele-
ment of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a
mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not
seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

Several of the older *susaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept [177]
was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently [776]

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[14] None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted. [773] [825]

use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. 778
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 532
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with [773]
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this
earth.[4] One of the first settlers, *Smaoan* (I, p. 332), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[5] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

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[4] *Aintsamlair* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks. [825]

[5] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to [184]
extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every
kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized [182]
skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both [115]
unreliable and uncoöperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

a man, *ux·wnaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func-
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 551
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary 693
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [773]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·wnaisa*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe 226
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes [841]
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Bo'astem* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ālquntām*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve
[821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.[10]

Next day *Ālquntām* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Bo'astem*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Sinxaw-a* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within
● [825] survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ālquntām* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Hence-
[825] forth you shall live on earth as a mink."

Ālquntām seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world
551 was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *a'alk*
575 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to another of the descendants of each until this day. One of these, a *nusqwal* name, is *Stalqalusam*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *llalyakam, smnukwnalsaix*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Sluml*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

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575 The following Kimsquit story[11] describes the obtaining of an *a'alk* prerogative in the distant past.

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[10] For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.

[11] Related by Jim Pollard.

Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anokokwiläls*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Älkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Älkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling. 539 575 [551] [424]

A few years after *Älkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Suxwalk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Älkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Älkexa* and the third *O'miätl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anokokwiläls*.

Älkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Älkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Älkwi* watched the performance of a *masqual* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anokokwiläls*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers. [825] ●

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anokokwiläls*. They hurried

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variegated plumage. When everything was ready, *Älquntäm* sent a house, built like his own, and all that it contained down to *Snulɔli* under the guidance of a man, to whom he had given his own name and his own power. This human *Älquntäm* tried to paint Raven, without being able to please the petulant fellow, until, becoming disgusted, he coated him a uniform black which Raven could not remove. Now all was finished, and when *Älquntäm* opened the door, out rushed the animals and the birds. In the press *Q̣ao·ltaks*, the Duck, whose seat was on the left of the fire facing inwards, was stepped upon; that is why to this day the duck can only waddle awkwardly. Her neighbour, *Sqwal·ätʌn*, another species of duck, whose place was opposite *Q̣ao·ltaks*, was not injured; consequently she can walk comfortably. [825]

Among the animals released was Deer, who rushed down to the river, seized some sticks, thrust them up on his head where they grew into antlers which had hitherto been lacking. There was no fire in the world then, so Deer determined to obtain some from the house of *Älquntäm* above. He returned aloft and began to dance. *Älquntäm*, not recognizing the disguised Deer, watched the performer with interest. Suddenly the crafty one thrust his head down into the flames, transfixing some of the burning sticks on his antlers and rushed away, with *Älquntäm* in vain pursuit. This is the way fire was brought to the world. [825]

In course of time, the man, *Älquntäm*, amassed enough goods to give a potlatch, taking for himself the name *Älquntämaäkʌs*, as the supreme god had decreed. When the guests had assembled Deer danced, but in his wild gyrations he kicked some of the visitors, wounding them. The irate *Älquntämaäkʌs* chased him out of the house and told him never to return. The guests then gave presents to *Älquntämaäkʌs*, to his heralds, and to those who had been injured by Deer.

Since that time whenever the owner of the name *Älquntämaäkʌs* gives a potlatch he erects a house similar to that brought down by his first ancestor with a totem-pole showing a design of Raven. Included in the ritual is a presentation of presents similar to that carried out by the guests to the first *Älquntämaäkʌs*; it is not clear whether this was originally done as a mark of goodwill or whether it was to shame the host on account of maltreatment of the guests. Belonging to this origin myth is the *nusqwal* name, *Taliokän·a*.

The inclusion of such explanatory details as this is a common feature of origin myths and illustrate the way in which traditions blend into narratives; in the old days they would not have been related at potlatches, but it seems wise to include them where necessary at the end of individual myths.

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cedars that flourish on that part of the coast. Thanks to their supernatural power they were able to carry these easily. 539*

Returned to *Smaisn·a* they built a dug-out canoe of birch(?), the outside of which, and also the paddles, they decorated with abalone-shells. The effect was very beautiful, and they named the canoe, *Ḳi'laiɬlotl.* In this craft the six set out down the Bella Coola River. When still above *Stuix* they stopped to investigate a beating sound and found that it came from the house of *Oq̣smai.* The latter invited them to come in, using *Dudusonx̣ʷ'*'s name, which he knew in some mysterious manner. When they entered they found that the beating sound was caused by their host's daughter, *Kānuslāliām,* who was sitting in the back-room, thumping a copper which she was holding as if it had been an infant. *Oq̣smai* was much impressed with his guests' canoe, and they with his. A trade was mutually agreeable, as a result of which the travellers obtained a copper canoe named *Łāliaɬlotl,* fitted with copper paddles. *Dudusonx̣ʷ'* married *Kānuslāliām,* who embarked with him and his brothers and sisters. They had not gone far when they were hailed by the chief of a village, who also knew *Dudusonx̣ʷ'*'s name.

"*Dudusonx̣ʷ',*" he called out, "your canoe is not much good; it has to be paddled or poled. Let us trade. You take my canoe, *Kwakwaosɬlotl,*[24] it travels with its own power."

Dudusonx̣ʷ' was unwilling to part with *Łāliaɬlotl,* but at last agreed. The seven now travelled rapidly in their merganser canoe to the coast, not stopping at the villages which they saw on the way. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, *Dudusonx̣ʷ'* cast into the water one of the fish which *Ālquntām* had given him; it became the progenitor of all the Bella Coola olachen. The travellers went thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm where *Dudusonx̣ʷ'* threw out another olachen, the forefather of all that now frequent this place. He repeated this at Rivers Inlet, at Smith Inlet, and at every fiord on the coast, wherefore olachen are plentiful in British Columbia at the present day. At *Łāliaml,* a town of which the location is uncertain, *Dudusonx̣ʷ'* was received as a benefactor and given the name *Tl̓ākwakila.* After visiting all the rivers on the coast *Ālkwi* and his party returned to Bella Coola, where they finally settled at *Stuix.* [825]

Throughout their travels they had carried the cedar trees with them, and they now planted them at *Stuix.* That is why fine cedars have flourished there since that date. The four brothers built a comfortable house and also constructed a salmon-weir in the river, which made them so prosperous that people came from far and near to pledge their daughters to the fishermen. They were able to give numerous potlatches and so display a totem-pole, the design of which *Ālquntām* had shown to *Ālkwi* [824] [532] their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

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[24] *Kwakwaos* is a merganser.

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tcăkwalotl* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Äl·imɩlsaix* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. [829] This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Äl·imɩlsaix* had been able to understand them in *Tcăkwalotl* there would be no diversity of speech now.

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in *sɩsaok* ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. Only at this place and at *Nusq̣alst* did Echo appear to the first people; [424] hence only the descendants of *Äl·imɩlsaix* and of the *Nusq̣alst* people have the right to portray him in their dances. [535] *Äno°likwolsaix* (II, p. 8) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the *sɩsaok* whistles became silent as if in fear.

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Tăl·io*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nusx̣emda*, was living. At this place *Tlakwakilayɩk^{wa}* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Äl·imɩlsaix* named him *ɩx̣lqotlamsqwaxdjinas*. After a short sojourn at *Tăl·io* they ascended the river, and presently *Äl·imɩlsaix* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Tăl·io* have never been known to attack a person. [825] The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Stap'*, where *Äl·imɩlsaix* found a repository (II, p. 8) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Smɩnkka°kɩs* and an eagle as incubus. From this point they returned to *Tăl·io*, where they settled permanently.

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. 551 Mrs. Schooner's designation as chief is *Tlakwakilayɩk^{wa}*, a name that can be used by either man or woman; in the former case the suffix *yɩk^{wa}* is

*539 829 special type of whistle. *Kaospoklänəm* remained in this house until he had given four potlatches. Then he removed to *Äxət·i*, near *Täl·io* River on South Bentinck Arm. His house still stands there, but it has become an island around which the clouds mass whenever a hostile raiding-party is approaching, so as to conceal from them their objective.

[197] From their long residence in this house *Täl·io* people understand the language of their Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and other coastal neighbours better than do the Bella Coola.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Täl·io*[28]

*539 Among the first people sent down to earth were four who landed at the river *Tcold*, on the mainland opposite Fort Rupert. Their names were: *Ninitsamlaix*, a man who became the leader of the group; *Nuyəl·ɛlaix*, a woman; *Änuskəmətləm*, a man; and another woman, *Snuxəmətləmän·a*. They met a wasp, which helped them by pointing out the proper road to follow and by killing evil things which barred their path. With this assistance they were able to reach *Täl·io*, where they settled and where *Ninitsamlaix* plucked a number of twigs from the branches of a spruce tree near the ocean. These twigs became the people over whom he was chief.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuləl*[29]

In the beginning of time there came down to Mount *Swakx*, near the mouth of the Dean River, two brothers, *Xemcua* and *Sinuxəl*, their sister *Q̈äkmə*, and their herald *Q̈äqäsᵃli*. *Xemcua* came as an eagle, but at once assumed human form; apparently the others had always been human. They moved down, and formed a settlement at *Nuləl*, near the mouth of the Dean River. *Xemcua* had brought with him as a present from *Älquntäm*, some olachen, called by their supernatural name, *älqexaiyen·a*, which he threw into the water. ● [825] They increased rapidly and became the ancestors of all the olachen at Kimsquit. Thus provided with food, the brothers prospered so that they were able to give many potlatches. In course of time *Q̈äkmə* was married to *Noäkila*, a chief who had come to earth on the upper Dean River.

At one of their potlatches *Sinuxəl* performed a *llaiyäkam* dance, as *Älquntäm* had instructed him to do before leaving *Nusmät·a*. Valuable

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[28] Fragmentary version, related by Billy Pollard.

[29] For another version see Boas, p. 65. It was impossible to obtain this myth from any of the descendants of *Xemcua*; it is unlikely that the above is more than an outline.

*539 [582] the people of Kimsquit and the Dean River, and ever since then intermarriages have been common.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Siwal·os*[45]

Soon after the first people had reached this earth *Älquntäm* feared that as they increased, they might quarrel about land tenure. Accordingly he sent down to *Siwal·os*, on the Dean River thirty-five miles from [551] the sea, three brothers, *Älquntäm*, *ısyuyuyut*, and *Łäliäxsa*, a name in many cases used by women, with their sister *Sx̣ape·tl*. He gave the oldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Älquntäm* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly sent his animal cloak back to the land above, before starting downstream. To the inhabitants of each town he allotted certain valleys in the vicinity to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that these, and only these, were to be theirs forever. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dean Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Älquntäm* returned up the Dean River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many steel-head salmon that the Carriers used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Sx̣ape·tl* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Älquntäm* ultimately moved to *Nusqäpts*, on the east side of the Dean River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

ısyuyuyut had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking [825] off this cloak, he released it as an animal, which became the ancestor of all the deer near Kimsquit. They did not like *Siwal·os*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nihtcıks*, on Dean Inlet, about three miles below Kimsquit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Łäliäxas*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *kai*, and *Łäliäxas* means, "Copper One," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting [825] and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries none lived near Kimsquit.

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[45] Related by Jim Pollard.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Äsklta*[46]

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In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* sent down to *Äsklta*, Salmon House on the Dean River, *Noäkila*, his younger brother *Tcaq̣os*, and their sister *Snulkänäls*, "Box," so named from a supernatural box in the land above. *Tcaq̣os* brought a caribou with him, and released it on earth.[47] With these people came as herald, The Wasp of Heaven, who later assumed human form and guided them. *Tcaq̣os* at once moved inland to the country of the Carrier Indians, where he remained,[48] taking the adapted name *Q̇äq̣os*.

Noäkila, unprovided with a house or clothing, was so lonely and unhappy that for four days he lay hungry, inert and despondent, alone with his sister. *Älquntäm* had promised to provide for his welfare, and, four days after *Noäkila*'s landing, sent down the four supernatural carpenters to help him. *Yulätimut* at once cheered his drooping spirits by building him a house, which was a replica of *Nusmät·a* itself. *Noäkila* asked the third carpenter, *Mätläbälitcak*, to provide him with food, and the latter, obedient to *Älquntäm*'s instructions, whittled a steel-head salmon from maple wood and put it into the river. The fish came to life, swam, and jumped for a short time, but soon died. The carpenter tried several times with the same result. Then Raven appeared and gave him the bone which every steel-head salmon has in the back of its neck. *Mätläbälitcak* put this bone in one of his wooden models, and when he had thrown it in the river it swam strongly and survived. This fish multiplied so rapidly that *Noäkila* and his sister were able to support themselves on this kind of salmon, which have been plentiful in the Dean River ever since. [825]

After a time *Noäkila* decided to visit the people dwelling on the ocean. He asked *Mätläbälitcak* for a canoe, and the carpenter made him one in the form of an enormous merganser, that travelled without visible motive power. At that time the Dean River disappeared beneath a huge boulder a short distance above the sea, but the craft shattered the rock and opened a channel.[49]

At the mouth of the Dean River *Noäkila* met *Xemcua* and married his sister *Q̇äkms*, using at this ceremony a wordless marriage song given him by *Älquntäm*. They had many children and ever since that time there have been intermarriages and friendly relations between the people of Salmon House and Kimsquit. [582]

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[46] Related by Jim Pollard; for another version of this myth see Boas, p. 66.

[47] Its footprints can still be seen in the rocks near Salmon House.

[48] The obvious fact that the Carriers must already have been in the land does not strike the Bella Coola. They do not theorize on the subject, but if asked, reply that they too were sent down from above at the same time. [829]

[49] The canyon on this river marks the site of the obstruction.

*539 [551] The names embodied in this myth are still in use. That of *Noäkila* was validated at a potlatch during the winter of 1921, after being dormant since the death of the eighth *Noäkila*, an old man, which had taken place some thirty years previously.[80] To illustrate this myth a representation is made of the merganser canoe, a specimen of which, obtained by Mr. Harlan I. Smith, is now in the National Museum, Ottawa.

According to another version of this myth, *Noäkila* and his party came to earth at Anaham Lake, in the country of the Carriers, bringing with them the steel-head salmon. They first went to *Stuix*, but *Noäkila* did not like the place, so released only a few of the fish. They returned to Anaham Lake, and from there went to Salmon House. They found this spot so desirable that they settled and set free their store of steel-head salmon. [825] That is the reason why this fish is so plentiful in the Dean River, and so relatively rare in the Bella Coola.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sä·ˌtsk*‘[81]

In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* constructed an abalone-shell covered post which reached from *Nusmät·a* to *Ältwolsqämus*, a mountain near the Kimsquit River, not far from its mouth. To this place came from above two men, *Smaoan*, "The First One," and his younger brother, *Omqomkilʟka*. The former flew down as an eagle, but the latter, in raven form, swarmed down the post, which vanished after he had reached the earth. *Smaoan* spread his wings, like a mother bird, to shelter his younger brother. *Älquntäm* had given *Omqomkilʟka* a box containing sockeye salmon, with instructions to throw them into the ocean, where they would increase rapidly to serve as food for him and his elder brother. He also taught the two how to build a salmon-weir to catch the fish. The brothers climbed down the mountain-side to the mouth of the Kimsquit River, where *Omqomkilʟka* became a man and sent back his raven cloak above. He then released the salmon as he had been instructed, and also another present from *Älquntäm*, a *mätsqus* (I, p. 525), which was to serve as bait not only for fish but also for wealth and goods.

Smaoan declined to assume human form immediately, so began to travel, and his younger brother, sad at being thus left alone, started to

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[173] [80] This was the only instance given of an approximation of the interval since the first peopling of the earth. The Bella Coola usually reply, "long, long ago," and have not questioned further. This myth was received from a reliable informant, but it is doubtful whether his statement concerning the "eighth" *Noäkila* would find credence among most Bella Coola. Even if it should be the eighth, that would be of little value in estimating the period at which the Bella Coola believe the earth to have been populated, since names may remain dormant for generations.

[81] Related by Jim Pollard.

BB 539 a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

BC *539. *Ailsamka* told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Q̣omoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

BC BB [226] [825] The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Q̣ā·pxaok*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Q̣omoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[75] and they floated up to the surface; of *Q̣omoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Q̣omoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Q̣ā·pxaok* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Q̣omoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Q̣omoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *biq̣otl*.[76]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Q̣omoqwa* had shown her *sısaok* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *sısaok* initiate.

BC [177] [556] This was the[77] origin of the *sısaok* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *ısłāmx̣* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Q̣omoqwa* passed to one of *Q̣ā·pxaok*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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BC BB [424] [292] [532]

[75] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[76] This style was always worn by *Q̣omoqwa* and *Ālqunitām* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Q̣omoqwa* or *Ālqunitām* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[77] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of 842
Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between
marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare,
though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are [163]
several families with as many as eight or nine children. The
changed conditions which have followed the advent of the
white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth- [165]
rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously.
Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the
Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are al- [847]
ways desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide
have been known for many years, neither practice seems
to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable
effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage.
Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully [776]
realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in
all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four
Mesmesälänux acting on the behest of *Älquntäm*. It is believed [773]
that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in
the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some
complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any 843
extent upon the course of biological development, but are
content to assume that *Älquntäm* has made the coming birth
possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe
certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a diffi- [845]
cult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant
will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants [825]
can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should
be avoided.

843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will
be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream.
This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the
water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface
to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is
too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage
that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means
of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to
certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat
his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small
piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on
which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury
from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house,
where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and
relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrangements
[424] are made for the mother or some other experienced
female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the
husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for
elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife,
sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself
borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is
often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of
course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house
with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to
some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may
have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella
[171] Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl.
The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

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[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches 842
immediately after the delivery of a child.

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as im-
portant as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged 826
at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *sxaiäx*, a 844
word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing 783
which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it.

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions 845
to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates,
but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne
twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters,
shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births
are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon [825]
into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human.
Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers [787]
her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple
birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one [756]
foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed.
If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the
horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, [847]
no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth.

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When
a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children
and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three
years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it
only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she
must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from
it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is
[753] remembered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these
restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died.
In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as
[825] this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary
taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola
River.

[778] After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life,
but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she
[787] wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of
the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She
must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it,
since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on
any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother
of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit
it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in
his venture.

845 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous
825 ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts.
Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in
which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such
knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly
Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother,
a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man
who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the
water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam
because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when
these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from
845 earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests
with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but
they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their
relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either
father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take
their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of
his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical
nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers
with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to
the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without
demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near
relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings
by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the
same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which
are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown
to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told
to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the
distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff
at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at
that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ālälāls*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly
mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight
of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

867 imitation potlatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first discharge. [784] A woman who has just given birth is a *sxaiäx*; an adolescent girl, a *sx̣yexwi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this, [753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restric-
tions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon
881 and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to
[825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing 841
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [773]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction [825]
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

MARRIAGE

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man.
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the 589
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those [732]
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is *not* a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most [858]
important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

763 [824] to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

763 776 [789] When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanāt·ān·ā*, "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

763 825 ● A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the *kwakwas*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*łsi·ł*." On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

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[1] The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, 763 barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this 825 kind as confirmation of their beliefs.

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions [158] she became insane and has never fully recovered.

The stone man, *Yuyulmx̣l*, near Kimsquit, who figures so 763 prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. [773] In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, [825] but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die.

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola be- 763 lieve that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable 828 precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Sxaiaxwax*.

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For
a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a
married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other
kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members
of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary
for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she
has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment
has not been made, it is considered correct for a
husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for
her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On
the other hand, when children have been born and financial
assistance mutually given and received several times, it is
proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although
he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is
no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in
connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral
[614 family are ready to assist in every case, both on account
556] of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also
as a means of displaying their wealth.

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by
men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who
does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer.
[839] Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it
is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a
deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most
influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in
the various necessary acts, although there is always endless
discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family
[301 and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum
775] of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able
to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a
walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it.
[825] If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring
salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a
sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river.
The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No 764
precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has [763]
not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman
of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and [602]
bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the [775]
coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world.

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according 575
to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential 766
sisaok, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Malakila*. A *sisaok* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *sisaok* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *sisaok* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *sisaok* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know [776]
that this is the voice of *Malakila* (also called *Sisiuqutnam*),

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until 764
that time. Such was often true even in former years, although 431
poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the
express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped 556
to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *sisauk* dance. [575] [796] As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret *after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest*, the [766] goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is 764
the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives 783
of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. [825] They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sä-lma* [776]

place in the manner already described. After passing through 764
the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single 783
opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the
mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of
his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The
friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which
the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed
from the immediate taint of death.

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not 765
alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" [783]
and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank
of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing
it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason [825]
they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they [262]
wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village
but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and [484]
there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows
and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village
on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlan'li*,
and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a [292]
consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of
which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, [761]
when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will
soon die.

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of [624]
behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable
to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their [302]
hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual [834]
intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken,
the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should [587]
not take place for at least a year, although among poor people [735]
it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all
taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law
on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period
to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement
is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and

775 to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter
[756] notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient,
the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible,
264 and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is
775 eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should
the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty,
753 beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes
a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are
caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who
have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb
which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has
[827] been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's
hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire
[782] with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

775 The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered
to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for
ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication
between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy
that a doting mother was once allowed to tend her dead child
on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted
on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost.
Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child,
much to the anger of the dead people.[44] Ever since that time
it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with
[538] their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it
is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item
of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not
one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

[725] Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where
dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and
gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because
a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it
will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have
[750] received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a
visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

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[44] This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 577).

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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B came wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one
C of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme
being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball
539 were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life.
775 *Māmaiyu*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-axe, that is, one with a crooked handle such as beaver use.[*]

At the moment when *Māmaiyu* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Māmaiyu*'s axe, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

B The information contained in this story does not cor-
177 respond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate
539 of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experi-
775 ences are normal for dead *X̣ux̣ais*, though unknown to their own people.

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[825] [*] The Bella Coola know that beaver must have axes of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of these, believe the animals use their teeth. *Māmaiyu* received an axe of this type.

in his cape and cried himself to sleep. The next day *'Yeăxdji* once more tried his luck fishing, but again only landed four bull-heads, and again cried himself to sleep. It was the same on the third day and the fourth, and in the evening the hungry and disconsolate youth wept for a long time, his head wrapped in his cape. 539 787*

Presently he felt someone kick his foot and heard a voice saying, "Stop crying! Get up!"

When the startled *'Yeăxdji* opened his eyes there was no one in sight. Concluding that he must have been mistaken, he again covered his eyes and went to sleep. But he was aroused in the same way, once more without being able to see his visitor. This time before he lay down he made a tiny slit in his cape so that while he pretended to be asleep he was really watching through the eye-hole. Soon he saw approaching a beautiful woman whose hair was worn in long braids as was the fashion of Fort Rupert women. Eagerly *'Yeăxdji* threw back his cape, but at his first movement she vanished. There was nothing to do but hope that she would return, so he again lay down with the opening opposite his eye. Once more the woman drew near, but this time the youth did not move, even when she kicked him and repeated her command not to cry.

"I see you," he answered, "don't run away."

The strange woman sat down without demur.

"Why did you throw away my children?" she asked. "They showed kindly feeling towards you in allowing themselves to be caught, and yet you rejected them angrily. None the less I have seen your misery and have come to help you. First I shall cure you."

When she had done this the woman continued, "I am going to give you supernatural power; when you want anything, just think of me and it will appear. I give you the chief's name, *Kaiusdiăs*; when you give a potlatch you must carve me on the posts of your house. My name is Beaver."

Then the woman vanished. She was a beaver in human form, which all animals are able to assume at will, though few mortals have the ability to see them except as animals. [825]

'Yeăxdji decided to test his newly received power by wishing for a house. He thought of Beaver, and forthwith there stood a fine house before him. By merely thinking of his benefactress he was soon able to fill it with goods, blankets, mats, boxes, benches, cooking utensils, and food of all kinds, and on the beach he soon had a flotilla of canoes. The size of the establishment proved the prosperity of its owner.

Meanwhile *Q̣omo'sala* and those with him were in dire straits for food. One day the old slave woman who had befriended *'Yeăxdji* happened to be foraging not far from *Q̣wiyai* when she saw smoke rising from the place, "It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the 777 father to his son.

787 * The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied [226] simply.

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good [776] fortune may be obtained is *Skwanät·än·a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would [776] have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without [763] knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanät·än·a* is considered an omen of death.

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is [825] ● endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [224]

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[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

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1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 756 like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In *787 this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a ● [825] rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of himself. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial [785] chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[1] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams [178] since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

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[828] [1] The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in sleep and visions seen during waking hours.

Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick 756*
even when at the point of death.

Ănuskieknɩm, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who 776
have been injured by other supernatural beings. 787*

Nunutsnɩmɩkmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ănotäbäkmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nusłkäkstämidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sɩsiutł. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have 756*
received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly
well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few 787*
of their own people are said to have been benefited by it.

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of
them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in
which the patient received a name differing slightly from that
of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early
spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick [825]
people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the
former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide them-
selves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree [533]
which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the
creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a
supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making
him a shaman.

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured
by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or
he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further
revelations and further names. From a single experience he
has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has,
the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once
calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of
the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to [553]
validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [556]

them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; 755
the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, 756 *
then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In [535]
dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous
tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as
if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling
out, *hoiṗ*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it
is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This
is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion
whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent.

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to
dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on [535]
the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he
revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his
wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals
he calls out, *snuaixwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating.

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and [824]
undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is
placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the [535]
shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to
the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used.

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on [753]
a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the [825]
autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the
offender.

755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
*756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed,
[825] cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws
it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return
whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to
receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *Tłitcäplilän·a*.
*756 The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed
cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark.
When these are ready, all assemble to witness the
curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks.
He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and
then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of
embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces
of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and
[789] walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire.
Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *Tłitcäplilän·a* who, pleased to

539 *756 775 As he sang, smoke could be seen rising from behind the house; the youth could see that it came from Porcupine's fire, but the song explained that it was eagle down for their mortal guest. The singer repeated his song; more smoke ascended from another place, which the lad saw was Mountain Goat's fire. The song was sung again and again, and at each repetition new smoke could be seen, from the fires of Deer, Black Bear, Whistler, Marten, Beaver, Wolverine, in fact from all animals except Grizzly Bear. The chief explained to his guest that whenever he wanted meat he could go hunting and would be able to see the smoke rising from the fires of various animals.[9]

"Tomorrow you will return home," he continued. "Your brothers (meaning the four wolves that had eaten him) will go with you to carry some presents."

Next morning [it was really a year later] the wolves tied up gifts of smoked meat in blankets woven of goat wool and sewn blankets of whistler, black bear, and marten. The meat, though a large quantity, was reduced to so small a compass that the four animals carried it without difficulty. The five travelled back to the spot where the two brothers had sat down to make their moccasins, and at that point the wolves returned to their home.

Now for the first time the lad remembered his brother, and began to weep bitterly, thinking that he must be dead. But presently he heard the sound of footsteps inside the cave through which the porcupine had guided him; they grew nearer, until the younger boy emerged. The elder was overjoyed, but his delight was turned to dismay when he saw that his brother's face was green and haggard, with a strange expression; that he had lost all the flesh from his body, and that his clothes, the same that he had worn when they parted company, were torn to tatters. His brother's appearance affected him so much that he fell down dead. The younger lad, however, had been made a shaman by the dead, so he quickly restored his brother. They exchanged experiences; the younger saying that the dead had given him the name *K̓ipulxs*. His appearance was vastly improved when he clad himself in a black bear blanket and two whistler cloaks brought by the other from the village of the wolves. The two returned home, entering the house secretly and lying down at once

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[825] [224] [9] To understand this the reader must remember the firm Bella Coola belief that all animals can assume different forms. To the ordinary person they appear as beasts, but in reality they lead lives resembling those of humans, having houses, fires, blankets, and other comforts. An individual who is able to see the smoke of their fires will have no difficulty in finding the homes of the animals and hence will have great success in hunting. The only one this lad was to avoid was Grizzly Bear, who was so fierce that pursuing him would be dangerous.

539*
787*

One day the supernatural one appeared, asking *Djusdju·sa* to prepare a large number of the sticks and rings and be ready to follow him on the morrow. *Djusdju·sa* complied and the next day set off with his benefactor. They followed a well-worn trail, but one which *Djusdju·sa* had never seen, although he had lived all his life in the vicinity.

"You must follow me carefully," said the supernatural one, "and watch especially when I disappear."

Before long *Djusdju·sa* saw a man with a big hat sitting at the side of the road beneath the shelter of a huge cedar.

"You are going to a very dangerous place," said the man, "but nothing will harm you if you are bold. Soon you will reach a stream with four boulders projecting above the water; jump across in four leaps from stone to stone and you will be all right, but if you slip, or if you set your foot on the river-bottom, you will die."

The trail led across a stream at the bottom of a canyon. The supernatural one crossed without delay and *Djusdju·sa* saw that there were four boulders rising from the surface of the water. Remembering the instructions, he jumped from stone to stone, nor, until he looked back from the farther shore, did he realize that what had seemed to be stones were really the heads of four *sḳâmtsk* which would have devoured him if he had slipped.

The supernatural one had waited on the farther shore to guide him to his own house, the Sun, where he accepted the sticks and rings which *Djusdju·sa* had been carrying. After spending a few days with his benefactor, *Djusdju·sa* returned home, where he built a new village and in time became wealthy owing to the salmon which he was able to catch by means of his supernatural shoes.

THE LAD WHO WAS HELPED BY MOUNTAIN GOAT

During a famine long ago, a certain family was on the verge of starvation. One of the sons set out with his bow and arrows, and near a waterfall on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, not far from its head, he saw a pure white bird, something like a gull, only much smaller. He shot at it but missed. It went only a short distance away, and the hunter shot again, unsuccessfully. The bird led him on for some distance; then it turned into a goat. More eagerly than before the boy discharged his arrow, but the animal was unharmed. Following his quarry, he presently found himself within the goat's house, where all the animals were seated according to rank, from the ground-hog at the bottom to the porcupine at the top. In accordance with the knowledge of the latter's rank gained on this occasion, men have since called Porcupine, *Q̣wal'*- [825]

*539 *ma°kus*, "The Eldest," and have spoken of him as the oldest of all animals. His goat-guide said:

*787 [825] "I am going to help you on account of your woes. Henceforth you will be able to see the smoke rising from the houses of the different animals."[3]

Thanks to the assistance thus vouchsafed to him, the lad was able to save his family from starvation.

THE FORTUNATE GLUTTON[4]

About four generations ago there was living in Bella Coola a young man who had a prodigious appetite. He used to eat everything, including vast quantities of rotten salmon eggs and other putrid foods until arms, face, and stomach all became fat, oily, and flabby, and he gave off an offensive smell. He was a chief and had married a chief's daughter, but she left him because of his grease and stench. Then he took another girl, who in turn deserted him. His parents arranged for him one marriage after another until he had become the husband of every available chief's daughter, but not one would stay with him because of his objectionable odour. Finally he wedded a poor girl who alone remained faithful and bore him a child. The glutton determined to improve his appearance. Accordingly, he obtained a large quantity of mountain goat grease and eagle feathers; then, taking these with him, he left the village and his family without saying where he was going, in fact, he did not know himself.

He went up the west bank of the Necleetsconnay River until it became a mere brook, then crossed over and returned down the east bank, strewing his path with eagle feathers. Then he went up the north bank of the Bella Coola River, penetrating every affluent coming from the north; in each case he went up the west bank, crossed the stream when it had become a rivulet and descended on the east side, all the time leaving behind him a trail of eagle feathers, and all the time eating nothing but the goat grease which he carried with him. When he had penetrated far into the upper reaches of the Bella Coola River, he crossed it and descended its south bank, investigating all tributaries as before. Near the Whitewater he heard a number of young girls singing happily, and a little below this place he came to his own village.

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[3] As every Bella Coola knows, the animals appear in beast form to mortals only. They really have their own houses, dances, and other forms of activity in which they partake in human shape. Any one who is fortunate enough to obtain supernatural aid enabling him to see the smoke from their houses can easily locate them, and thus have phenomenal success in hunting. [224]

[4] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 108.

to the bear-man's home she awoke, thinking she had slept but a single night, for she did not realize that a night to the supernatural ones is a year to mortals. Her bear-host asked which of her brothers she would prefer to see. 539* 756* 787*

"The eldest," she replied.

"No," responded the bear. "He is a shameless man who is wont to sleep with his wife at all periods."

"Then I should like to see my second brother," she said.

But again the bear refused, saying: "He spends all his time combing his wife's hair to make her appear beautiful. Choose your youngest brother; he is the best of the family."

To this she agreed, so the bear threw out his power and compelled the youngest brother to pass near the hiding-place. While they were still at a distance, the bear saw the man and his dog, whereat he pointed them out to the woman, who threw a snowball down the hillside for the dog to chase. After a fruitless pursuit it returned to its master. Another snowball was thrown, which again the dog failed to retrieve. When this was repeated four times the man concluded that a bear must be near.[28] He crawled up until he saw his sister, in the guise of a bear; he had even fixed an arrow on the string ready to shoot when she assumed human form and greeted him. He was delighted at finding his long-lost sister, and she was amazed at hearing that she had been absent for a year. She took her brother into the mountain to get her basket and pack her goods, but he was unable to see the town of the bears until she rubbed her hands over his eyes. Then it became visible to him also. They returned home together, where she recounted her marvellous adventures.

At that early period there was less distinction between men and animals than now exists; each understood the language of the other, but though bears have retained their original supernatural powers men have degenerated to such an extent that they can no longer communicate with animals.[29] It was true, men shot animals, but that was because *Älquntäm* had allotted them to men as food. The bear had chosen the woman as his mate because she was still a virgin, and therefore not contaminated by too much of the essence of humanity. Through intercourse with this supernatural being she became a shaman, with a knowledge of the wishes of bears, even then not properly understood. Her continence, followed by intercourse with the bear, gave her insight into the mentality of the animal. Following her mate's instructions, she taught her youngest [825]

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[28] The story fails to explain why.

[29] This interpolation in the myth was added by the narrator, without solicitation, as a natural explanation of the facts described.

CAUSATIVE MEDICINES

MEDICINES OF INFANCY

789 *To Cause Tallness*

856 As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

[824] [825] (1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

[825] (3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Please, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

[886] [824] Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and 789
earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction 856
that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after 886
birth.
[824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against 789
every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless 825
of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the
same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and 856
patted as his fingers clutch it.

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the [155]
insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates.

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and pat this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smuxmuxaxls* (probably one of the 533
thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 789
825

"May he be a singer like you." 856

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster.
The following story is told of the power of the *smuxmuxaxls*'s [539]
song:

533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

● 825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,
856 until the bird changed its note:

"I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there
[539] will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one
856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.
[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for
789 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good
856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one
532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These
[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which 304
is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of coun- 789
tenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, 856
though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. [532]

[826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles 789
and leave them in position for several months. He will grow 856
up lean and wiry, like the animal.

[825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *llakwalk* (red [825]
cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head.

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub [824]
the mixture over the infant's scalp.

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents fre- 533
quently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar 789
to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs 856
it over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the [825]
decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown.

856 789 868

To Cause Ability in Carpentry (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most efficacious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

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To Cause Ability in Thieving

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

825 856 789

To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water

When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlobe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789-
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Älquntäm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished [858]
possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial [785]
chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal. 825 856 789

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *slbas*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *slbas* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *slbas* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform 856 789 532

789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.

[592] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[815] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[222] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious, and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
991 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntäm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [845]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [774]

825 989 of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength of the animal he has just slain.

856 [774] (2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

825 789 856 beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them.

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

789 856 [152] When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father beats him lightly, four times, with a rope-end. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour.

[178] This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when *kusiut* dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is improbable that a father rose every fourth

box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, 832
she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kālotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kwa·tsua* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kālotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kwa·tsua* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kālotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him.

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its 886
tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the 825
quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once.

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, 842
but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just 789
lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant.

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex

If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843
789
To Cause Easy Delivery (two means)

(1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853
757
To Cause Increased Flow of Milk

Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461
789
825
To Cause Energy

Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

"Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789
825
886
To Cause Long Life

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

"May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting 789
on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his 825
stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its 886
master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat 826
and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *axaxon·i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four 533
times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired 789
to impart the art, saying:

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills 789
the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great
ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain 789
goat or beaver at a fire. 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and 825
throw it into the ocean or a river, saying:

789 "Please, may it be as it was when you held intercourse."

821 The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and
825 beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

754 *To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity*

825 Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleanness" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[8]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

954 *To Cause Disease in a Malefactor*

727 A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

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[8] This medicine was learnt from a rather unsatisfactory informant and was not confirmed by others.

Preventive and Curative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of
a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing invol-
843 untary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are
825 especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their
peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to post-
[846] pone the application of this medicine until four days after
birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve
825 a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days
789 after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built
beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is
[846] steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will
[761] die during infancy, though the means by which the slain ani-
mals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in
[774] the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some
hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 755 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

789 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[753] [825] [785] Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755. 775

To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost

The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet 784
and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe.

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN 262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange 562
the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. [841]

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do
so would cause a difficult delivery. [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon [844]
until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the [845]
fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning 224
if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is [226]
customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when
nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert
must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others,
and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a [171]
custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola.

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not [825] ●
to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down [753]
each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness.

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull [732]
or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise
he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only
an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over-

since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating 796 the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a 574 flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by [865] having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark.

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be 226 driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are [562] not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full time to the task, working with zest and energy.[7] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for [825] ● the singing of the thrush, *smuxmuxaxls*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as:

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[8]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet 226 and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish 796 are relatively complicated. [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

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[7] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[8] Cf. Boas, p. 72.

"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481
"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787 runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322 carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825 boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826] this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761] invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756] only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be present should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 856 head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this 827 custom is known.[18]

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[18] This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 300.

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non- 575*
members are told that the death was due to one of the many 766
dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held 575*
a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled 769
that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable
on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discon- 533
tinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead 177
kukusiut, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to
prohibition of the potlatch.

THE RITUAL OF SPECIFIC DANCES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be 575*
given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference 796*
between them that each will require a separate account, al-
though considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning
in connection with the first dance those features common to
all. The initial performer is always he who has the preroga-
tive of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the [424]
Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut*
have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should [776]
wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so.
Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the mar-
shals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does
so without conflicting with another. The first dance described
is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season.

THE DANCE OF *Noâkxnm*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the 773
September moon is full there starts from the Land of the 824
Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noâkxnm*, commanded by 825
a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

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[14] *Cf.* Boas, p. 40.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await
the coming of *Āl̥quntām*. The crew consists of a number of
● supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with
the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which
brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts
but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine,
Noākxnum lowers first one side and then the other of his craft
so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a
time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[831] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels
[787] without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are
sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the
bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that
the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent,
but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[626] patron was *Noākxnum*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākxnum*
is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
575 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
*796 the *kusiut* dances begin.

[184] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
slight variations, if any. In *Tcumatl* the *kusiut* who has the
[551] prerogative of seeing *Noākxnum* is a certain *Qoxolān-i*,[15] in
Kimsquit, *Āłuskinwasam*,[16] and in *Slikistl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

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[115] [15] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxolān-i*, who intimated
that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[426] referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present
[578] user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this
kind.

[16] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as
if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this
type.

attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any 575*
case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have 796*
had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been black- [302]
ened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qalhm* [292]
he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial
season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an [774]
uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is
taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except [834]
in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes [688]
to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was
formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules
apply to every dancer.

Älquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and 575*
at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. 796*
It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony
of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, 787
Noäkxnm seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaian-a*, 773
and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by 825
the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers
compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the
departing *Noäkxnm* empties a large number of olachen into
the river.[19] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This
final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after
calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkxnm* is 575*
patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just de- 796*
scribed, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the
ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper 787
prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkxnm* when at
the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four
days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated
ceremony, termed *Imälhandjutqulsan*, is carried out in the
manner described above, except that it is completed in four
days with only two songs.

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[19] *Noäkxnm* is accordingly often called *Noäkelxnm*. [776]

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saignás* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Aimaltua, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [821] [776]

Nuspaxta Smaiaikila, "The Eagle Down *Smaiaikila*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaiaikila*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [825]

Kitlmuntámem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [777]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *kusiut*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

[The Mystery Dance]

* 575
* 796 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and are impressed as *Ȧno'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

532
776 After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*……, which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snuniq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxults Ȧlquntäm*, "The Foolish Son of *Ȧlquntäm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Ȧlquntäm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'olxults Ȧlquntäm*.

● [825] After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ȧno'likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqalxwaista*, and have listened to it howling for *Ȧlquntäm*; as usual, *Ȧno'likwolsaix* confirms his

has retired from sight. *Äno'likwolsaix* gives her customary 575*
dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on 796*
someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. [776]
After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind
the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The
evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that [532]
the masks are not burnt.

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nehusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drama, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nehusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Äno'likwolsaix*.
After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a [532]
time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance.

THE DANCE OF *Winwina*

Noäkgnum is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the 575*
only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one 796*
whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar 776
purveyor of fish is *Winwina*[illegible] who comes every year to Bella
Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected 825
with the rite, and states that the movements of this being 184
influence the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation 824
was not confirmed. *Winwina* is supposed to return from the

[illegible] Also called *Kankuntljotus*, "What Brings Our Food."

575 land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his
796 successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the fol-
776 lowing year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same
825 function to *Noäkpnus* provides no difficulties to native philo-
sophers.

184 "Different individuals have different stories," they say, and
824 the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no
consequence.

773 The incidents described in the following myth are always
824 spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming
825 of *Wiwaina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to
539 the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

*Wiwaina** once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Wiwaina's* crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tsiksut*;
The Hawk (?) species, *Äsakipakusis*;
The Raven, *'Anmanpcktsis*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";
The Water Ouzel, *Tsimtsuntlida*, "The Walking One";
The Great Blue Heron, *Mucautlus*, "Long Neck";
The Hermaphrodite, *Alsl'pus*;
The Cormorant, *Kwaluni'lu*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;
Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kimaltsls*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kalasa*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[192]

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*A word etymologically connected with *wina*, the Bella Coola term for raid.

[The Dance of Winwina]

fish. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773 824

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Qholilmas*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 825 554

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nawatlanimus*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers."

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Âsalpmaia*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Ispsislms*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *Ëpspcnacmatlais*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Gsipas*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Alquntäm* placed the name *Nuwaxkmai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Sp*, near *Stuie*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nuwaxkmai* has had the *kusiut* prerogative of using *Winwina*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Winwina]

575 kinds of salmon captured by *Wiwaina*. In their efforts to make
946 realistic representations, the artisans often use the skins of
steel-head salmon, the only variety obtainable in winter,
532 stretched over wooden frames, and painted. Various women are asked to make imitations of berries captured by the Hermaphrodite. In each case X requests one woman to make a certain berry, root, or bark used for food, and so many are needed that he often becomes weary from constantly calling out his requirements. As on other *nusiadiliup*, the songs are practised, food is served, and the usual ceremonies occur.

The next morning, that of *patlos*, the carpenters, both men and women, start early at their work. The method of making the salmon has already been described, but a word should be said about the berries. They are made of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, and snow-berries, the only material available in winter. The workmanship varies enormously; some realistic articles are turned out, others are exceedingly crude. In the evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated are summoned to X's house for the usual protracted ceremony of *patlos* night.

575 *Nuhanem* follows the next day. The wooden salmon and
946 berries are placed in a convenient spot behind the fire, and in
the evening X asks some one of the senior *kukusiut* to assist
825 him in their display. Sometimes one of the marshals undertakes this duty, and at any rate they have to express their approval of the dancer's choice. The *kukusiut* are the first to assemble, and when the last details have been arranged the uninitiated are called in and seated at the canoe behind the fire. The *kusiut* chosen to assist X stands beside it, holding the wooden spring salmon in his arms, its head uppermost.

"What is it?" he asks the uninitiated. "If you recognize which salmon it is you will be successful in catching that kind next summer."

The uninitiated are thus urged to guess, but fear of the *kukusiut* acts as a deterrent, and it is often some little time before a plucky youth calls out which salmon he thinks it to

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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[The Dance of Winwina]

he. Once the first answer has been given, it is only a matter of a few minutes before some alert young man gives the successful reply. 575* 746* 825

"Yes," says the *kusiut* holding the salmon. "It is a spring salmon, called [illegible] by the supernatural beings. *[illegible]* captured it."

The bearer goes once around the fire, still holding the salmon, while the *kukusiut* women drum and the sticks are pounded furiously. Four times during his circuit he tosses the fish in his arms as if it were jumping, and all the *kukusiut* call out *ya*----- *ka*-----, as they do when a salmon jumps in the river. He finally throws the fish on the central fire and the beating of sticks stops with almost startling suddenness. The same *kusiut* next picks up the wooden representation of a sockeye salmon and the same procedure is carried out; it too is thrown on the fire when its species has been ascertained. In succession, imitations of hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon are displayed and cast in the flames. It is seldom that the uninitiated realise that the fish are being shown in the order of their coming in the spring, and their consequent failure to answer promptly is a source of considerable secret amusement to the *kukusiut*. The Bella Bella dog salmon, held with its head downstream, is the last fish shown. The representation is always made long and lean, to the annoyance of the Bella Bella, and when the holder makes it jump, the people call out nothing but *ka*-----.

Soon after the last salmon has been burnt the displayer holds up the first bunch of "berries" and calls on the young uninitiated women to guess what kind is represented. 575* 746* 824

"*If you guess right, you will find plenty of these next summer,*" he says.

Somewhat shyly the girls register their guesses, but the choice of berries is so great and the workmanship so poor that a considerable time often elapses before the correct answer is given. As soon as this is done, the exhibitor carries the fruit around the fire and throws them on the flames in the same

[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered 575*
when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 796*

In the evening the *kusiut* are first called in, to be fol- 776
lowed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic [522]
skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the reiterated remarks of *Tlaqots* who does his utmost to belittle Thunder.

The time-beater for the expert dancer, *Nixps*, appears after Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he [532]
wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Âlxwolâtnm*. As [533]
he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *Nixps* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain giant among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws, followed by the musicians.

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered specially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile [532]
manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit *[illegible]* imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Ânulikwutsaix* explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to [825]
taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

*575 women drone, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return
*796 to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *lsuxämem* and requires no special description. On the night of *nusiutälsap* a large number of
[532] masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of *nabusam*.

In the early evening the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to
[532] inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have
[178] erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kusiut* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently
[714] witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their
[825] branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realise that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Ânoʼlikwalsais* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 but the *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by
*796 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance
of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so
many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*796 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a
warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
●825 they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Älquntäm* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases
them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with
supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
[424] birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nusquekatl*
[551] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qweta*.
For the *mdusam* of this man's dance a huge circular cage con-
[532] taining wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular
maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme
amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

*575 THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*796 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of
776 bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
821 fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sunplaminit*, "Darkness," he
[513] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[532] as *Stcitema*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on
mdusam figures with black painted masks, representing both
[424] phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snalxiarmanem*. Like all supernatural creatures, Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 575* 796* 776 [821] [592]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ālibalādaix*. [823] [593] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mentlats-cnm*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsāl*, whose repository is near *Sātlia*. One of *Tsāl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *sulacam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [823] [551] [778] [593]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [825] ●

*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
●825 follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
[773] to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
[224] time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who
is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring.
Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *sulxaram* of her protégé, a number of masks
representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared.
When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised
figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the
fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakdáwas*, the
supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the
ritual of the dance, known as *sandomenais*, was not obtained.
The similarity between *Dakdakdáwas* and *Dakdakdáwmem*, those
who await *Noskýmem*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance
[192] in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning
"to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection
with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575
THE DANCE OF *Almaquhailsila*

*796 In Kimsquit it is believed that *Anulikwutsaix* has a hus-
776 band, *Almaquhailsila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.
184 His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to
[755]

where they settled. *Alquntam* had given him the ability to kill mammals 424
and birds by merely projecting his power at them, and in this way he 575*
obtained food for the whole party. He could also revive his victims with 796*
the aid of a peculiar stick beating orchestra, consisting of spruce cones. 539
These he arranged around a fire balanced on levers which he could move with his feet; as he pressed, the cones became animated and beat time frantically. It was *Alquntam* who had given him these non-human stick-beaters. *[illegible]* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded [825]
only with the eyes of the wolf, wherefore these organs appear human even today.

Alquntam gave *[illegible]* the prerogative of carrying out a *kusiut* dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owner of that name. His patrons, for he has four, are the supernatural Carpenters. *[illegible]* has the further prerogative of wearing, when [532]
dancing, a wooden head-piece over his forehead representing *q!r·ko*, probably one of the blackbirds. On the night of *[illegible]*, when the uninitiated are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Plate (at end) illustrates the masks proper to these beings. *Anulikwutsaix* is, as usual, in attendance and explains the significance of the apparitions.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF *Nunuisqapnum*[illegible]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *Anulikwutsaix* herself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she penetrated to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the [illegible] River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a lake on the other side of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, curl, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Bravely she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *Anulikwutsaix* herself within, working with a woman *Nunuisqapnum*. *Anulikwutsaix* was using rock crystals to strike the woman senseless, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *Nunuisqapnum* to sink into the ground. Breathless with excitement the

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[illegible] Related by Steamboat Annie.

*533 (*d*) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's *tutwinam*.
(*e*) Another arrogant reference to the *tutwinam*.
[776] (*f*) In Bella Bella.
[424] (*g*) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as *tutwinam* came from a remote ancestor.
(*h*) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Ḳaqais, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *Alḳusmaswin*	*nasdicwnimamp*	*Sāḳensnsnāmāsu*
Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

ḳwalxatsiyadskix
my crest(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Aýuuaina	*kaxfōnasnamdinit*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *mesak* compositions.

[424] [825] [773] (*b*) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Noāḳila*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558] [424] (*c*) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuqwihmkais of Kimsquit(a)

A *Ḳsasaḳilhaas*	*sksiḳalmiláas*	*Diḳapnlplsadai*	*wastatpaatsl*
We all go	to see(*b*).	He(*c*) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(*b*) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(*c*) An unnamed supernatural being.

(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 593*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitmumlais*, a female infant distantly related to Ḳomtsnakwala. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead Ḳomtsnakwala.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusqalst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of Ḳomtsnakwala's names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusqalst*. The meaning of the whole part is: Ḳomtsnakwala sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusqalst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

NON-CEREMONIAL SONGS

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796]* but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with [825] ● love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.[$]

LOVE SONGS

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 593* 892 424

[$] [See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 527 - ANALYST]

599*
226

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Swallow right down(c),	to your very tail,	to your very tail;

[illegible]
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(d).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(b) The vocative form is used.
(c) That is: Swallow the bait.
(d) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

[illegible]	*[illegible]*
Who is your father?	Who is your father?

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
"Rotten stomach"(b)	is your father!	"Rotten stomach"	is your father.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

599*
225

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Dance,	cormorant;	dance,	cormorant(b).

[illegible]
Take the breast(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 26a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(c) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

[192]

Song Sung to a Bat(a)

539 825 When a bat is seen flitting around in the dusk, lads often greet it as follows:

[illegible]	[illegible]
Bat,	[illegible].

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

539 525 177 Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as *lehal* which may be of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes alone are important, and it is often remembered from what area they first came.[9]

539 177 A few songs have been adopted from the Carriers and are sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. *The most popular is the following:*

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[9] A number of such tunes were obtained:

A Kitamaat *lehal* song, recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A gambling song said to have come from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British
Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermi-
nation of one or other of the participants were unknown, but
there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks.
These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial
achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast,
but it appears probable that at least several villages of the
Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During
the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they
[556] might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same
manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence
offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
[illegible] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
to veer over to the other side of the channel. *Eagle down* was
[578] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling
[627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in
summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food;
consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[illegible] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

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[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social
121 customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The
[177] Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and
pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten
by the younger people, many of the old men and women are
familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs
these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve
ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the
spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation.
Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the
subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here
described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of
the subject.

526 Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians
[171] of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling.
[628] The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked
crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging
shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are
anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which
[177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost
entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

539 The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young
[517] and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature,
especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial
occasions, but the older men and women remember
[825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which
are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners,
although they may have heard the same recital fifty times.
Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and
it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded
by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted
his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these
[867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

859 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] [241] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [524] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [575] [231] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nusmāt-a* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

524 ● [825] There is one game, *sləti*, which the salmon are said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 2). A hoop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

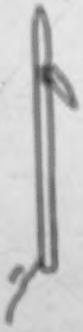

Fig. 2.
"Toy spear."

538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

● [825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] [776] Many of the first type describe the adventures and misadventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

RAVEN STORIES

*538

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Älquntäm* told *Masmasalanix* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Älquntäm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[3]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought held up his legs to the heat again, but though he kept them there until they were badly burnt, no more grease came. Seal waited and waited, until, becoming angry, she picked up her pan and went home in disgust. 599*

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[3] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

RAVEN AND VARIED THRUSH[6]

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Varied Thrush.

"I have come to call," he said.

Thrush, a woman, politely invited him to sit down for a meal. Then she took the box which she used for berry-picking, hung it on a projecting rafter outside the house, and began to sing; instantly a few berries appeared in the box. She sang four times, and when she had finished, the receptacle was full.[7] Thrush placed the food before her guest, and Raven ate heartily. When it was time to leave, he picked up the box with what he had not consumed, and invited his hostess to come and collect it the following day.

On the morrow Thrush went to Raven's house, where he invited her to sit down for a meal. Then he made a hole in a corner of the house, placed the same food-box beneath it, and began to sing, imitating his guest's song. A few salmon berries were deceived and entered the receptacle. Again Raven sang, but this time the berries recognized the deception and the box was filled, not with fruit, but guano. Thrush was very angry.

"You tried to steal my method of gathering berries," she burst out.

Then she picked up her box and went home, leaving Raven discomfited.

RAVEN AND BUCK[8]

Once upon a time, Raven went to the home of an old, large-antlered buck and asked:

"In what month do you get fat?"

"I grow fat when they put up the sticks to dry the salmon," replied Buck.

"That is peculiar," said Raven. "I get fat then too; our families must be related."

He said no more, but waited patiently for autumn.

When the sticks were set up for salmon drying, Raven went again to Buck's house and said:

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[6] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

[7] The Bella Coola say that when this bird sings, flowers, berries, animals, and fish gather to listen to the melody. [825]

[8] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 92.

hers, which, with her supernatural power, she was able to do. She reluctantly granted his request, and Raven became very proud of his splendid locks. 539*

Next year, when Raven caught sockeye salmon he obeyed his wife's instructions by carefully hanging the fish up to dry without removing the heads. One day, however, his long hair became entangled with the teeth of a drying salmon, and in a fit of anger he wrenched off its head, throwing it outside the door. His wife was so vexed and grieved that she cried and cried until her face was swollen and Raven became frightened at her continued lamentation. After he had left the house, Sockeye Salmon told her sisters-in-law to make a fire and put on it all her personal possessions. She said that she intended to leave that night, and that the smoke would animate her husband's salmon, but not those caught by his sisters. When it was dark she carried out her threat. She whistled, and Raven's fish came to life; then she ran to the river, raised the edge of the water as if it had been a blanket and plunged beneath, followed by them.

Raven tried in vain to pursue, but lost both his wife and his salmon.

ANIMAL STORIES

Raven is more frequently endowed with human characteristics to serve as the central figure in stories than any other bird or mammal, but the following are examples of similar tales centring around other figures. ‡ 538 825 ●

MINK AND CAT-FISH[illegible]

539*

Once upon a time/long, long ago, before men and animals had grown so unlike one another, Mink went to the home of a Cat-Fish woman, who politely invited him to stay for a meal. When he had finished eating he said to his hostess:

"Are you afraid of anything?"

"No," she replied.

"Are you not afraid of Grizzly Bear?"

"No," answered the woman again.

Mink repeated his question with regard to Wolf, Black Bear, Wolverine, Cougar, and all the other fierce animals, but Cat-Fish assured him that she feared none of them. At length he asked:

"Are you afraid of Owl?"[illegible]

[illegible] There are no true cat-fish in Bella Coola; the species so designated is probably one of the sculpins. [136]

[illegible] He meant the western horned owl.

‡ [See pp. 419-493. – ANALYST]

from the anus and flew away. Grizzly Bear rolled around in agony till he died.

HOW MALLARD DUCK GOT HIS NAME

Mallard Duck married Merganser,[illegible] but soon tired of her and discarded her in favour of Red-Breasted Merganser. The incensed one began to swear at her successor, but at once Mallard Duck joined in the defence of Red-Breasted Merganser and insulted his former wife.

"*Năx! Năx! Năx!*" he said as if he were vomiting, imitating what he claimed had been a common practice of Merganser. But the jibe was so often repeated that Mallard Duck received from it his own name, *Năxnx*.

THE MISFORTUNES OF JAY

Rocky Mountain Jay was a Carrier, who lived long ago, *far* away in the interior mountains. One summer the snow did not melt from above his house so that his only connection with the open air continued to be a small passage for smoke and breath. Summer passed and autumn came, with the ripening of the berries, but still the snow remained and Jay kept indoors, thinking it still was winter. One day a little bird brought him a sprig of ripe berries, chiding him for his lassitude and folly in staying where winter reigned, when he could come out into autumn.

"All you have to do," said the visitor, "is to get ready and force yourself through the snow."

Jay took the advice and plunged out through the drift into autumn, carrying his bow and arrows. As he looked back at his house under the snow he thought to himself how much better it was to be out in the open.

He wandered through the woods till presently he saw Black Fox asleep. He sneaked up to him, arrow poised on string ready to shoot, when he heard a voice:

"Do not shoot, Jay," it said. "Blood will spoil the fur. Build a fence round Fox with only a narrow opening in it, where you can put a snare."

The voice came *from* his anus. It was as if he had two minds, one located in that part of his body. Jay followed the advice and built a fence of dry branches around sleeping Fox with only a narrow opening in which he set a snare. When this was ready he built a fire to awaken Fox and frighten him into the noose; but the fence flared up so that the startled Fox was able to jump to safety over the shattered barricade. Jay was so angry that he beat his anus.

[illegible] The species could not be identified. The Bella Coola term is [illegible].

Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Sinsa's* wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 534

"What did you tell her?" *Sinsa* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Sinsa* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." [715 / 791]

Sinsa had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Sinsa's* camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Sinsa's* wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Sinsa* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Sinsa* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Sinsa* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uncanny, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Sinsa* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Sinsa* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Sinsa's* wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the dead wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Sinsa* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. [775 / 826]

539 brothers, how all their people had been murdered by an old woman who had sucked out their brains through their ears, and how she was even now pursuing them.

"I know about her," their host answered.

This was the first tidings he had received of the crimes she had committed on earth.

Shortly afterwards *Snukpaiqtl* came along, panting and resting on two walking-sticks.

"I am tired," she said, but *Alquntam* said sternly:

"I know now about all the evil you have wrought on earth."

He took a whip and beat her unmercifully. When he had finished he opened his door, and tore her to tiny shreds which he threw outside, saying:

"Henceforth you shall be mosquitoes."

[125] The fragments floated down to Kimsquit, where ever since there have been numerous mosquitoes. Then *Alquntam* said to the five:

"Don't be down-hearted about the loss of your friends. I will help you. Spend the night with me, but tomorrow, when I send you home, I will give you something to restore the dead."

Next morning after breakfast he gave the eldest youth a small quantity of what looked like water, a drop of which he told him to put into each ear, each nostril, and the mouth of every dead one, for restoration. They were then told to return to earth on the road by which they had come, which would be made easy for them. It was as he had said; thanks to *Alquntam*'s care, they reached earth in two days and one night. As soon as they came to their village the eldest boy first restored his parents, afterwards all the other people; to them it seemed as if they had only been asleep; none of them realized he had been dead. The eldest boy became wealthy through presents given to him in gratitude by those he had restored.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED WOLF

Once upon a time there was a young girl who was secluded in the corner of her house following puberty. Growing weary of her imprisonment, she one day slipped out through the hole in the floor to pick berries in the forest. There she met a handsome young man who made love to her; at first she spurned him but at length gave in, and, immediately afterwards, the youth suggested that she return with him to his home, saying she could go back when she so desired; to this she agreed. They soon reached his house within which was his father, Wolf, who wore a wolf blanket and had a wolf's tail; only his face was human. As the old man moved around the house his tail almost went into the fire.

591 121 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a bastard.

"Never mind, my son," said *Alquntam*. "Presently, I will let you do my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Next morning the father sent the lad off to act as sun, giving him the usual supply of [illegible]. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased the supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children at play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was scalded to death. Most of the animals escaped by hiding in burrows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It was burnt black and has retained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present condition. The deer and the weasel failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day. [125]

Alquntam, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life, and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down to earth in the form of mosquitoes. [125]

Cataclysmic Stories

591 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

591 *Ki'lko-a* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Ki'lko-a* was much worried and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to [illegible], but instead they merely laughed at him. Next summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful hunting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April; the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their fruit from ripening. Few fish entered the rivers, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few trout caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, [illegible], went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after setting his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the

501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, [illegible], with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the [illegible] which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the [illegible], named from one of the geese,
[225] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a
[532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501
536 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. At several [illegible] dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiry showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the boats were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes
501
[171] the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed [illegible].

Rafts, [illegible], consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to
[171] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their northern [illegible] whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

316
[221] Early spring is the time to [illegible], that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in this task, though this is really women's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her
[illegible]

[String Figures]

524 Insert right hand from distal side into the loop hooked down by right index finger, releasing this finger in the process.

With tips of right thumb and index finger grasp left radial index finger string and left ulnar thumb string, taking care that the grasping fingers pass to the distal side of the (straight) left ulnar index finger-radial thumb string.

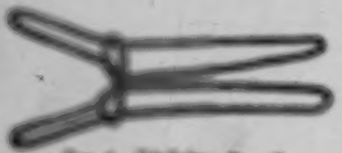

FIG. 6. "A Salmon-Trap."

Draw these two strings out to the right, allowing the original right hand loop to slip over them.

This completed figure represents a salmon-trap,[1] the opening pointing towards the left (Figure 6).

11. A WATER OUZEL

Opening A with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip; transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, passing it over the loop just transferred.

Extend.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping it distal to the loop already held.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping it distal to the two loops already held.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook this string down with little finger through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb strings; turn index finger up away from manipulator, taking up the string on the dorsal aspect of the tip of the index finger.

Release left thumb.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend.

[525]
[791] This completed figure (Figure 7) shows the bird ready to dive in search

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[1] Some informants state that this figure represents the female genital organs.

524

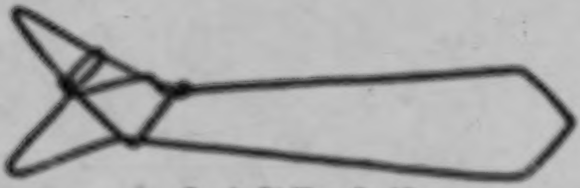

FIG. 5. "A Water Ouzel."

of the small fish, or salmon roe, on which it feeds. Wriggle the hands and the bird shakes, as it does when about to dive. The manipulator sings: [825]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dive	down,	Water Ouzel,	to	your salmon roe.

Release left little finger.

The bird dives; the remaining knot represents the radiating ripple that marks the spot where it vanished.

III. A CORPSE

Place string over left thumb and index finger, and right thumb.

With left middle, ring, and little fingers hook down left radial thumb string and left ulnar index finger string.

With right middle, ring, and little fingers hook down right radial and ulnar thumb strings.

Bring right hand to radial side of left hand, to its dorsal aspect.

With right index finger take up from proximal side string which passes across dorsal aspect of left thumb and index finger.

Extend, taking care not to lift string from left thumb or index finger.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers of both hands.

There is now a straight string passing between the radial sides of the two thumbs, and another straight string between the radial sides of the two index fingers, while the string passing from ulnar side of left thumb to ulnar side of right index finger crosses to the radial side of the string passing from ulnar side of right thumb to ulnar side of left index finger (Figure 6).

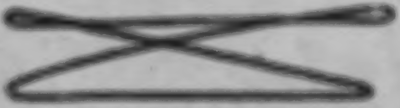

FIG. 6. "Bella Coola Opening."

This common opening will be referred to henceforth as BELLA COOLA OPENING.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger string.

524 wrapping radial thumb string around tips of index fingers, and allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

There is now a St. Andrew's Cross in the centre of the figure. With each thumb take up the upper arm of the cross nearest to it from the proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loop hooked down by ring and little fingers of each hand to little fingers of each hand, without altering direction of loop.

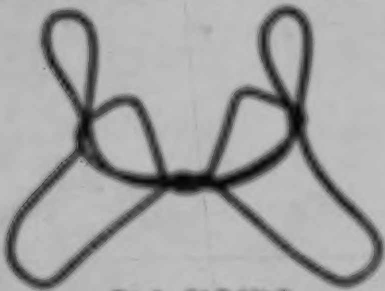

FIG. 8. "A Rabbit."

Insert index fingers into little finger loops from distal side, bend them towards [illegible] to proximal side of radial little finger strings, ulnar thumb strings, and radial thumb strings; then bend them up and away from [illegible] to distal side of radial thumb string, and to proximal side of the straight string which crosses the figure forming a loop between ulnar thumb string and radial little finger string of each hand. Hook this string on index fingers and return, taking it up on the dorsal aspect of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

[525] The loops just released represent the ears of the rabbit. With thumbs press the ears through little finger loops and elevate with middle fingers, thereby making the figure appear more life-like (Figure 8).

VI. THE LONG PENIS OF RAVEN

524
891
Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side and return through thumb loops, allowing original thumb loops to slip off.

Insert middle fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and take up on the backs of middle fingers the strings passing across the palmar aspect of thumbs, returning them to normal position.

With back of left middle finger grip right middle finger loop and release right middle finger.

thumb strings, then taking up distal radial thumb string on the backs of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

This shows the butterfly with wings extended, the head being the complicated network of strings in the upper centre of the figure (Figure 11).

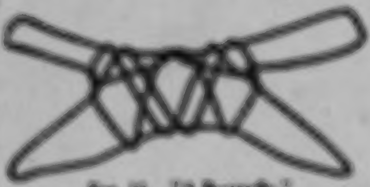

Fig. 11. "A Butterfly."

To untangle the string—to make the butterfly vanish—with thumbs hook down palmar string and release index and little fingers.

VIII. THE FIRE-SEEKER

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops and hook down radial index finger string.

Pass index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of these fingers.

Return through index finger loops, allowing these loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

With thumbs take up ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb.

Bring ring and little fingers of each hand together, tip to tip, to radial side of left thumb loops, and transfer loop hooked down by left ring and little fingers to hook of right ring and little fingers.

With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down left ulnar thumb strings.

Release left thumb.

Insert right index and middle fingers from proximal side into loops hooked down on right ring and little fingers, thus widening this loop.

Turn palms of hands towards manipulator, with hands pointing upwards, that is, so that the fingers would point upwards if they were not bent over to hook down strings.

Rotate right hand counter-clockwise, and left hand clockwise, through ninety degrees, causing a triangle to appear in the centre of the figure (Figure 12).

This triangle represents the person to whom [illegible], "The Fire-Seeker," applies for glowing embers. Another person should take the part of [illegible] by inserting a finger through the central triangle. The following dialogue takes place:

524 With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb string from proximal side and return through index finger loops.

Insert ring fingers into middle finger loops from proximal side.

Bend middle and ring fingers towards manipulator, to distal side of index finger loops, passing middle fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and ring fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string. Grasp radial thumb string between tips of these fingers and return through middle finger loops, thus wrapping the string so grasped around the tips of middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release little fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb.

Insert right index finger into right middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop, releasing middle finger.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, so that the loop formerly held on index finger is now held on back of same finger, but has not been twisted.

With right middle finger hook down, midway, the string which passes from ulnar side of right index finger to radial side of left middle finger.

With right ring finger hook down left radial middle finger string.

Release left middle finger.

Pass left index, ring, and middle fingers into left thumb loops from proximal side and hook down these loops.

Release left thumb.

This shows the "Toad" sitting crouched, head facing to left, ready to jump (Figure 17). 525

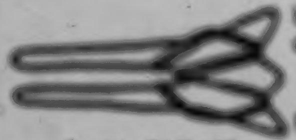

FIG. 17. "A Toad."

Pass left thumb into loops hooked down by left index, ring, and middle fingers from distal side.

The left thumb represents a stick.

The manipulator then carries on the following dialogue with the toad.

"[illegible]? Where are you going?" (addressed to the toad).

"[illegible], I am going to get some huckleberries".

"[illegible]? But how will you be able to reach up to them?"

"[illegible], I can jump."

"[illegible], Go ahead, little fellow."

As the manipulator says "Go ahead!" release right index and ring fingers and with a swinging motion the "toad" can be made to jump towards the left, over the left thumb. 524 [525]

A TOAD

(Second method of construction)

Cat's Cradle opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side.

With middle fingers hook down ulnar index finger strings, allowing loops just taken up to slip off. The strings formerly hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers are now held down by ring and little fingers.

Release index fingers.

Each ulnar thumb string is held down by a loop. With index fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side between loop and centre of figure.

With index fingers take up radial thumb strings from distal side and return, allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.

Take up with mouth the straight radial index finger string in centre of figure.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, releasing right thumb.

Transfer right index finger loop to back of right index by twisting finger without removing string, which throws original radial string on to ulnar side.

With right middle finger hook down string passing from mouth to left index finger between the mouth and the point where other strings cross.

Release mouth.

With right ring finger hook down left radial index finger string which runs straight across to right hand.

Release left index finger.

Insert left index, middle, and ring fingers into hooked down loop of left thumb.

Release left thumb.

Gently extend the figure by spreading the loop held on backs of left fingers, at the same time manipulating it so that the loops held by right index, middle, and ring fingers are of approximately the same length. It is sometimes difficult to get a satisfactory figure.

The completed figure (Figure 13) represents a toad squatting pre- [525]

524 paratory to jumping. Release right index and ring fingers, and by means [725] of a swinging movement with both hands the toad can be made to jump to the left, over the left thumb, which should be inserted into hooked down loops of left index, middle, and ring fingers from distal side.

XIV. CROSSING A RIVER

Place string as a simple loop over thumbs and index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down radial thumb string and ulnar index finger string.

With right index finger take up string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger from proximal side.

With left index finger take up string passing dorsally across right thumb and index finger from distal side.

Extend, at the same time releasing middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to left proximal index finger loop, and hook down left distal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to both right index finger loops and hook down right ulnar thumb string—which is the same string as just hooked down by left middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle finger into left index finger loops from proximal side and hook down proximal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle finger into right index finger loops from proximal side and hook down both radial index finger strings.

Bend towards manipulator middle and index fingers of each hand, passing middle fingers to proximal side of the straight radial thumb string, and index fingers to distal side of same string. Grip this straight string between tips of middle and index fingers.

Turn middle and index fingers down and up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index fingers, and allowing original strings to slip off.

Release thumbs.

Extend gently.

* * * * A loop now crosses the centre of the figure from the angle formed by the junction of left ulnar index finger string with left radial little finger string, to the right palmar string. With right thumb take up the radial string of this loop from distal side.

Insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side and extend this loop on both thumbs.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side.

Navaho thumbs.

Release index fingers. * * * *

524 ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index finger.

Release left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

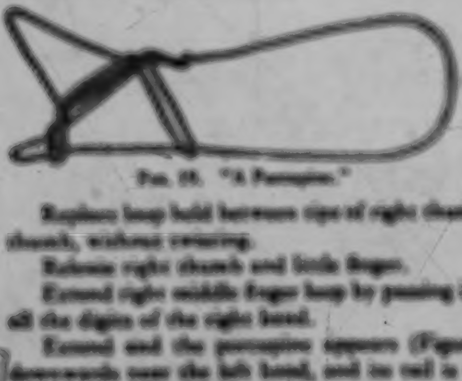

FIG. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is here

[525] downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

The manipulator sings:[7]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Don't hurry away, | go easily? | when you go | to your home,
[illegible]
O porcupine!

XVI. AN EAGLE'S NEST

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[72/98]

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[7] Recorded in song VII D 28, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [illegible]

Insert thumbs into little finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping the three loops in their proper order, and at the same time releasing little fingers. 524

Insert little fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of proximal and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string, and hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from the distal side, passing to ulnar side of distal and middle proximal thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; turn fingers up away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Each index finger loop is now crossed by two strings; one of these passes as a simple loop around the ulnar index finger string, whereas the other is wrapped around the same string; with the backs of thumbs take up the former string from the proximal side.

With right thumb take up left radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release left thumb.

With left thumb take up both right radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.

Navaho both thumb strings.

Release index fingers.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, taking up these loops.

Release thumbs.

The figure now consists of two straight lines with two triangles between them, the base of each triangle (consisting of two strings) being vertical and parallel to the other; pass thumbs into their respective triangles, away from manipulator, and take up the bases on the backs of thumbs.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, and left thumb loop to right thumb, over the loop just transferred.

With the tips of right thumb and middle finger grasp the left double thumb loop, remove from left thumb, rotate through 180 degrees anti-clockwise, and replace on left thumb.

Repeat for right double thumb loop.

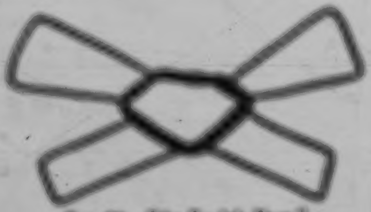

FIG. 20. "An Eagle's Nest."

[825]

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Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.
Navaho both proximal thumb strings.
Release index fingers.
[525] Extend, and the Eagle's Nest appears (Figure 32).

XVII. THE CRIPPLE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Pass thumbs proximal to middle finger loops and take up radial little finger strings from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down ulnar middle finger strings, allowing original little finger loops to slip off.

Release middle fingers.

Extend loop hooked down on little fingers by passing into each the backs of the ring and middle fingers.

With middle fingers hook down proximal ulnar thumb string, allowing the loop hooked down on middle, ring, and little fingers to slip off.

Transfer loop hooked down by middle fingers to backs of little fingers, without twisting.

Insert index and middle fingers into both thumb loops from the distal side and grasp the proximal radial thumb string between the tips of these fingers; bend upwards and away from manipulator taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

A straight string now passes on the ulnar side of the central figure from one palmar string to the other; with thumbs take up this string from proximal side near each palmar string.

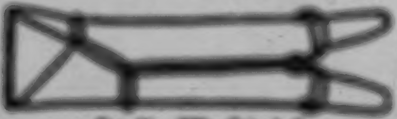

Fig. 33. "The Cripple."

With middle fingers hook down index finger loops, without releasing index fingers.

Place thumbs, tip to tip, with index fingers, and transfer each thumb loop to its respective index finger, placing over the loop originally on the index fingers, that is, so that each original thumb loop is now a proximal index finger loop.

With thumbs take up distal radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Extend hooked down loop of left little finger by passing into it the backs of left index, middle, and ring fingers.

[illegible] McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
MSS Bellacoola [illegible]

524 Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, keeping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

8. THE PATTERNING OF RAVEN'S PLUMAGE*

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendant loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendant strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger, turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across to dorsal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

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*As already described, in the beginning of time many of the first-comers to earth floated down from above as [illegible]. It is assumed that the plumage of these birds must have been attached to the [illegible] in some way, the "[illegible]" [illegible] in this figure. On reaching earth, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, an action represented in this design by the [illegible] of the [illegible]. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth as a [illegible], his descendants consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific [illegible] of the [illegible] plumage.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE5 Bellacoola NE5

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF FLORA AND FAUNA

824 825 128 THIS glossary does not give the scientific names of all the flora and fauna known to the Bella Coola, or even of all mentioned in this monograph, but only those of which the usual designations are ambiguous. In cases of the common mammals, no scientific terminology has been attempted, since the multiplicity of sub-species renders identification almost impossible, and the popular name is sufficient for general purposes. In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always strictly accurate botanically. Two or more distinct forms, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similar use as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different terms are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, and so on. These factors combine to complicate the study of either ethno-botany or ethno-zoology, and necessitate the collection of a large number of specimens. The late Mr. H. I. Smith has done so, and this glossary could not have been compiled without his assistance, though the writer is responsible for any errors in it.

824 Alder	*Alnus rubra* Bong.
Aspen, American	*Populus tremuloides* Michx.
825 Bearberry, Red	*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.
Bilberry, Dwarf	*Vaccinium caespitosum* Michx.
Bilberry, Tall	*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.
Bilberry, Thin leaved	*Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Birch	*Betula* sp.
Blackberry	*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.
Blackfish—*See* Killer Whale.	
Blueberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith
Bracken	*Pteris aquilina* (L.) var. *lanuginosa* Bong.
Buffaloberry, Canadian	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.
Bunch-berry	*Cornus canadensis*, L.
Cedar, Red	*Thuja gigantea* Nutt.
Cedar, Yellow	*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis* (Lamb.) Spach.
Clover, Perennial	*Trifolium fimbriatum* Lindl.
Cod, Black	*Anoplopoma fimbria* Pallas.
Cod, Red Rock	*Sebastodes ruberrimus* Cramer.
Cormorant	*Phalacrocorax* sp.
Cottonwood, Black	*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.
Cow Parsnip	*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Crabapple	*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.
Cranberry	*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.

824
825

Crow	*Corvus caurinus*
Currant	*Ribes laxiflorum* Pursh.
Devil's Club	*Fatsia horrida* (Sm.) B. and H.
Dock, Western	*Rumex occidentalis* Wats.
Dogbane, Spreading	*Apocynum androsaemifolium*, L.
Dog-fish	*Squalus suckleyi* Girard
Duck, Harlequin	*Histrionicus histrionicus*
Duck, Mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*
Eagle, Bald	*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*
Eagle, Golden	*Aquila chrysaetos*
Elderberry, Red	*Sambucus racemosa*, L.
Fern, sp.	Poly. *Aspidium spinulosum* Sw.
Fir	*Pseudotsuga mucronata* Raf.
Fir, White	*Abies grandis* Lindl.
Fungus, Shelf	*Polyporus officinalis* Fries.
Goose, Canada	*Branta canadensis canadensis*
Goose, White-fronted	*Anser albifrons*
Gooseberry	*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, Swamp	*Ribes lacustre* (Pers.) Poir.
Gooseberry, Wild	*Ribes divaricatum* Dougl.
Grouse, Blue	*Dendragapus obscurus*
Grouse, Spruce	*Canachites canadensis*
Gull	*Larus* sp.
Halibut	*Hippoglossus hippoglossus* Linn.
Hawthorn, Black	*Crataegus brevispina*, C. *Douglasii* Lindl.
Hellebore, False	*Veratrum viride* Ait.
Hemlock	*Tsuga mertensiana* (Bong.) Sarg.
Heron, Great Blue	*Ardea herodias*
Herring	*Clupea pallasii* C. and V.
Huckleberry, Black	*Vaccinium ovatum*
Hummingbird, Rufous	*Selasphorus rufus*
Fritillaria	*Fritillaria* sp.
Jay, Rocky Mountain	*Perisoreus canadensis capitalis*
Jay, Steller	*Cyanocitta stelleri*
Juneberry, Flowering	*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.
Killer Whale	*Orca gladiator*
Kingfisher, Belted	*Ceryle alcyon*
Loon	*Gavia* sp.
Maple, Rocky Mountain	*Acer glabrum* Torr.
Merganser	*Mergus americanus*
Merganser, Red-breasted	*Mergus serrator*
Mosquito	*Culicidae* sp.
Mussel, Fresh-water	*Margaritana margaritifera**
Nettle	*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.
Olachen	*Thaleichthys pacificus* Richardson
Owl, Horned	*Bubo virginianus*
Parsley	*Umbelliferae* sp.

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*For the identification of this species the author is indebted to the late Judge Latchford, of the Ontario Supreme Court.

124	Pine	*Pinus contorta* Dougl.
	Porpoise	*Phocaena vomerina*
125	Puffin	*Lunda cirrhata* or *Fratercula corniculata*
	Raspberry, Black	*Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
	Raspberry, Wild Red	*Rubus strigosus* Michx.
	Raven	*Corvus corax sinuatus*
	Robin	*Planesticus migratorius propinquus*
	Rose, Wild	*Rosa nutkana* Presl.
	Salalberry	*Gaultheria Shallon* Pursh.
	Salmon, Cohoe	*Oncorhynchus kisutch* Walbaum
	Salmon, Dog	*Oncorhynchus keta* Walbaum
	Salmon, Hump-back	*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha* Walbaum
	Salmon, Sockeye	*Oncorhynchus nerka* Walbaum
	Salmon, Spring	*Oncorhynchus tschawytscha* Walbaum
	Salmon, Steel-head	*Salmo gairdneri* Richardson
	Salmon-berry	*Rubus parviflorus* Nutt.
	Sardine	*Sardinia caerulea*
	Skunk cabbage, Western	*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* (L.) Schott.
	Snail	*Ariolimax columbianus*
	Snowberry	*Symphoricarpos racemosus* Michx.
	Spruce	*Picea sitchensis* (Bong.) Carr.
	Spruce, Black	*Picea mariana* (Mill.) B.S.P.
	Strawberry, Wild	*Fragaria* sp.
	Stonecrop	*Sedum spathulifolium* Hook.
	Swan	*Olor* sp.
	Thrush, Varied	*Ixoreus naevius*
	Toad	*Bufo boreas boreas*
	Water-lily	*Nymphaea polysepala* (Engelm.) Greene
	Water Ouzel	*Cinclus mexicanus*
	Willow	*Salix* sp.
	Wren, Winter	*Nannus hiemalis pacificus*

[illegible]: Supernatural being sent by [illegible] to meet [illegible].
[illegible], "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremonially at every feast. [556]
[illegible]: Abalone-shell covered with sand by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to [illegible] as complete name for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]
[illegible], "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]
[illegible]: Toasted food of any kind. [262]
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a [illegible] man. [252]
[illegible]: Perforated, adjective.
[illegible]: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time. [575]
[illegible], "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [491]
[illegible]: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]
[illegible]: Married.
[illegible]: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for [illegible].
[illegible]: One of the men who came to earth at Mount [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Totem pole erected by the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]
[illegible]: Round song in fast time.
[illegible]: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [593] [585]
[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.
[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]
[illegible]: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.
[illegible]: Crow, diminutive singular.
[illegible]: 1—One of [illegible]'s men in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Central seat behind the fire.
[illegible]: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-weirs. [412]
[illegible]: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.
[illegible]: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [605]
[illegible], "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [625]

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[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible], "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.
[426] [illegible]: Refusal to lend to an outsider a *family* prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.
[574] [illegible]: Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
[illegible]: Name of a female shaman.
[illegible], "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *[illegible]* chief.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[575] [illegible]: *Kusiut* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *[illegible]*.
[583] [illegible]: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.
[illegible]: Frenzied hurling of sticks.
[illegible]: Wife of *[illegible]*, the supernatural hunter.
[illegible]: Supernatural calendrical experts.
[illegible]: Husband of *[illegible]*; he is known only in Kimsquit.
[575] [illegible]: *Kusiut* dance of mystery.
[574] [illegible]: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.
[illegible]: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.
[425] [583] [illegible]: The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.
[262] [illegible]: To drag a heavy burden.
[illegible]: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.
[821] [illegible]: Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.
[illegible], "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.
[illegible], "The Awesome Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[597] [illegible]: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.
[illegible]: Food.
[425] [illegible], "Food Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
[illegible], "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[156] [illegible]: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[392] [illegible]: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[395] [illegible]: Supernatural name of clothes, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *[illegible]* man in the beginning of time.

*192 *Ālximāwa*, "Left Foot": *Staux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Ālyimlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *ālymatl:* Dentalium-shell.

ālymak'ap, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] *ālxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

[881] *ālxmula:* Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Ālxwaltāmm: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

ālxwpaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *āmat:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *ā'mutalaqkt:* Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

āmātax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *āmātuts:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

āmkpls: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Satlia*.

[825] *āml:* Spring salmon.

āmlta: Spring-salmon house.

Āmlutaklis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Āmtāklis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

āmltamham: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Ānabsultanamlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snulxli*.

[575] *ānamuska* or *sīānuska:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

ānātsqtutl: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *ānawalatl:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Ānilxsaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Āpukuluix: Cave near Dean Channel.

Ānalpamdimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Tlitcaplilan-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Āpuslkwalaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Āuutāklmats: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Tlitcaplilan-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[756] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[823] *anaxwm:* Swift running water.

āukmatatnam: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *cuauk* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[illegible], "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
[illegible], "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
[illegible]: Woman immolated in a repository and hence became supernatural.
[illegible]: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
[illegible]: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
[illegible]: Short cord by which the *tongue* is held during the *[illegible]* dance.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
[illegible]: Nose-ring. [301]
[illegible]: Mourning song composed for a *chief* and, apparently, the singing of one. [593]
[illegible]: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
[illegible]: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic*.
[illegible]: Person who catches early eulachon in a hand-net. [226]
[illegible]: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [829]
[illegible]: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
[illegible]: To await, especially a supernatural being.
[illegible]: Son of the first settlers at *[illegible]*.
[illegible], "What Fills People": Name created by *[illegible]* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
[illegible]: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural name of *[illegible]*.
2—Method of killing practised by *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
[illegible]: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *[illegible]* rites on alternate nights. [424]
[illegible], "The Saviour": One of *[illegible]*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
[illegible], "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *[illegible]*, q.v. [198]
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[illegible]: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests. [342]
2—Village at Kwatna.

[illegible]: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "[illegible]": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Name obtained by an [illegible] man in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "Quivering To and Fro": One of [illegible]'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: 1—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
[431] 2—"Left Hand": [illegible] named from part of a supernatural creature.
[426] [illegible]: Term applied to the giving of a supper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[469] [illegible]: *Kusiut* profession, at Kimsquit only, of throwing seeds on the fire.
[illegible], "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
[illegible]: 1—Owner of a puppet-pattern.
2—Synonym for [illegible], q.v.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who robs *kusiuts* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
[illegible]: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
[illegible]: Eczema.
[illegible], "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
[illegible]: *Sisauk* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] [illegible]: Herring eggs.
[824] [illegible]: Cottonwood.
[illegible]: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] [illegible]: Harlequin duck.
[illegible], "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
[illegible], "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Canoes lashed together.
[illegible]: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] [illegible]: 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] [illegible]: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Women living in the moon.
[illegible]: Inhabitants of the village of [illegible].
[424] [illegible]: Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
[illegible], "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible]: Totem-pole, *literally*, "Outside Post."
[752] [illegible]: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
[illegible]: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] [illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
[illegible]: Position between two fires.
[illegible]: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Wounded.[1] [823]
[illegible]: To touch.
[illegible]: Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [824]
[illegible]: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
[illegible]: Sacred song in slow time. [583]
[illegible]: 1—Box, cricket; boxes, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears. [825]
[illegible]: Rocky Mountain jay.
[illegible]: Carved house post.
[illegible]: Wife of [illegible]; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
[illegible]: Expedition of the supernatural being [illegible] against herring and fish.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
[illegible]: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
[illegible]: Seals. [825]
[illegible]: Steaming in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
[illegible]: Fir. [955]
[illegible]: Evil male supernatural being.
[illegible]: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
[illegible]: Kingfisher. [825]
[illegible]: Fish-hook.
[illegible], "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [827]
[illegible]: [illegible] spp.
[illegible]: plural, [illegible]; neutral plural, [illegible]:
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible]: Slave man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means omen. It is the Kimsquit variant of [illegible]. [787]
[illegible]: Omen of death.
[illegible], "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at Tal'io.
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
[illegible], "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Varied thrush. [825]

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[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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[illegible]: Location near [illegible] where berries are plentiful.
[illegible]: Chief living at Talio in the beginning of time.

[illegible]

[illegible]: One of the [illegible] dances.
[illegible]: I, first person singular.
[249] [illegible]: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food?

[illegible]

[illegible]: Supernatural animal.
[illegible]: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: To guess, as done by the contestants at a [illegible] dance.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[215] [illegible]: Lamprey.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a [illegible] man.
[illegible]: Abalone shell.
[illegible]: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] [illegible]: Fish-trapped hut made by chiefs.
[293] [illegible]: A Kimsquit composer.
[illegible]: Dam mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Supernatural, man-like creature.

[illegible]

[921 772] [illegible]: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
[illegible]: 1—"The Comer," synonym for [illegible].
2—The kusiut prerogative of having [illegible].
[illegible], "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for [illegible].
[illegible]: Supernatural being who [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible]: Supernatural dog whose residence is the land above.
[601] [illegible]: [illegible]'s husband.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s husband.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Archaic term for kusiut Brother.*
[924] [illegible]: [illegible] cedar-wood, as used for [illegible].
[394] [illegible], plural, [illegible]: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] [illegible], "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman [illegible].
[101] [illegible]: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Talio in the beginning of time.

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*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an r sound.
*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an r sound.

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[illegible]

[illegible]: Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
[illegible]: Cultus, term in common usage.
[illegible]: Nephew or niece. [601]

[illegible]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a [illegible] man.
[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible] Bay in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Whore, [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for council official.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Type of tree-giving [illegible] used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
[illegible]: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: Call used by members of the [illegible] society to strengthen their fellow-members.

[illegible]

[illegible]: Shredded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
[illegible]: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s dog.
[illegible]: One of the first women sent down east of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
[illegible], [illegible]: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the biting of a self-Cannibal. [431]
[illegible]: One of the [illegible].
[illegible]: Abbreviated title of [illegible] dance.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], "The [illegible]": Male supernatural child who fosters [illegible]'s [illegible].
[illegible], "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
[illegible], "[illegible]": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
[illegible]: Alleged singing of a novice initiate's song by the supernatural being, [illegible].
[illegible]: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
[illegible]: [illegible]. [824]
[illegible]: Polyandry.

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[illegible], "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: One of the supernatural carpenters.

[illegible]: The separation of a wife from her husband. [583]

[illegible]: Synonym for *[illegible]*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]

[illegible]: Hereditary tendency.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuie* man. [827]

[illegible]: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *[illegible]* is problematical.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time. [828]

[illegible]: The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to redeem her as expressing their somewhat beautiful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]

[illegible]: [illegible] supernatural visitation. [787]

[illegible]: 1—To strengthen, or to dress up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]

[illegible], "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.

[illegible]: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.

[illegible]: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Talio* in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "The Track of the Sun": *[illegible]* name obtained in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Supernatural name of *[illegible]*.

[illegible], "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *[illegible]* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible], "The Circuit": Name assumed by *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuie* man.

[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "The Circuit": Name assumed by *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *[illegible]* and *Talio*.

K

[illegible]: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]

[illegible]: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.

[illegible]: One of Raven's Crow sisters.

[illegible]: Crow. [825]

[illegible]: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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[824] [illegible]: Tree, probably birch.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man.

[222] [illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: The gathering of fern root for food.

[263] [illegible]: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[585] [illegible]: Public recital, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.

[842] [illegible]: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the recital of myths by the bride's relatives, the cleansing of [illegible], and the singing of songs of all kinds.

[976] [illegible]: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying kindness.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied [illegible].

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an origin myth of [illegible].

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: House brought to earth by first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[824] [illegible]: Kelp.

[227] [illegible]: Cod hook.

[illegible]: Termination.

[824] [illegible]: 1—Shell tongue.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shell tongue is used.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Ceremonial cross.

[illegible]: Herald of a [illegible] chief in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Trap.

[illegible]: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of [illegible], one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

[264] [illegible]: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.

[825] [illegible]: 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.

[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.

[756] [illegible]: The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.

[825] [illegible]: Golden eagle.

[524] [illegible]: Top, toy.

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[illegible]: Tail.
[illegible]: Rain. [825]
[illegible]: Black hawthorn. [824]
[illegible]: Secret name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: Ancestral name of the wife of [illegible] who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: Kitlope chief living in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
[illegible]: Secret name of a Kimsquit woman.[a]
[illegible]: Bark basket for holding liquids. [415]
[illegible]: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing supernatural.
[illegible]: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [426]
[illegible]: Back room in which [illegible] and others are concealed.
[illegible]: Woman during menstruation. [431]
[illegible], "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first ancestors in the beginning of time. [424]
[illegible]: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [812]
[illegible]: Kusiut rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
[illegible], "The [illegible]": One who has been initiated as a member of the Kusiut society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a Kusiotem or a Mystery dance. [575]
[illegible], "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a [illegible].
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
[illegible]: Grandmother. [601]
[illegible]: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
[illegible]: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest. [825]
[illegible]: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. [824]
[illegible]: Red elderberry.
[illegible]: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [419]
[illegible]: Unidentified plant. [252]
[illegible]: To toast dried salmon.
[illegible]: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
[illegible]: Locality on Dean Channel, west of [illegible].
[illegible]: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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[a] This name appears to be an entirely different word from [illegible].

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[illegible]: The charm that keeps a foolish man from success as a child; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.

[illegible]: First ceremonial discharge.

[illegible]: [illegible] village.

[752] [illegible]: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

[illegible]: Shaman who received power from ghosts.

[illegible]: Bella Coola hunter.

x[119] [illegible], "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized Kimsquit has been derived.

[illegible]: Dean River.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

● [825] [illegible]: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Talio woman; this is said to be an [illegible] [illegible] designation.

[illegible]: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kimsquit chief, who died about [illegible].

[825] [illegible]: Shadow.

[illegible]: Where is (?).

[824] [illegible]: Herring.

[illegible]: Perception of being oneself.

[illegible]: Dried salmon.

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible]: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from [illegible].

[825] [illegible]: Porpoise.

[845] [illegible]: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.

[illegible]: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[824] [illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).

[illegible]: Supernatural female shaman who guided [illegible].

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.

[illegible], "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.

[539] [illegible]: Land, region, earth.

[illegible]: First part of song.

[illegible]: Timbered mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[825] [illegible], "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.

[965] [illegible]: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.

[578] [illegible]: Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.

[609] [illegible] or [illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], investment present.*

[421] [illegible]: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Grandfather.

[illegible]: Kusiut ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

[illegible]: The construction of salmon-weirs.

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*This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic [illegible] sound.

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[illegible]: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]

[illegible]: Supernatural being whose stomach is out in the land above. [576]

[illegible]: [illegible].

[illegible], "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being [illegible].

[illegible]: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular kusiut dances.

[illegible]: Said to be identical with [illegible], the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]

[illegible]: plural, [illegible]; [illegible], [illegible]; [illegible] plural, [illegible].
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]

[illegible]: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

[illegible]: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

[illegible]: Orphan.

[illegible]: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Smith Inlet.

[illegible]: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

[illegible]: Merganser. [825]

[illegible]: Merganser name acquired by the first ancestor at [illegible]. [763]

[illegible]: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a male [illegible] Cannibal.

[illegible]: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

[illegible]: Evergreen bough. [824]

[illegible]: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

[illegible]: One of the sculpins.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible], "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

[illegible]: Man who came to earth near [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kimsquit woman.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] Pass in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kitlope chief living in the last century.

[illegible], "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a [illegible] chief; the word is a synonym for [illegible].

[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

[illegible]: Lullaby.

[illegible]: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

[illegible]: 1—Pen or trap in the stream for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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L

[825] *Lakkakla:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
la'ka: Squirrel.
Laqwamais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ǫomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lasmiyaw·ō':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
Le'ṗala: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalamak: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Guests]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snut'li* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalamkila.*
Lalamkila: Another name for *Tsaalalit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilimamlais:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *Lilpl'adalis:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *Lolpat:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *Lolimadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
Lutsmas: Wrestling or shoving.
Lūlum: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo·qwa·ī: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Lulutsa: Mask.
Lūta: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łabwakila: *Tsaaut* man living in the beginning of time.
Łālaiaks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *Łālia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Łāliaaiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Łāliaslal: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuw* in the beginning of time.
Łāliaks: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sātlia,* in the beginning of time.
Łāliakdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Łāliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Łāliamg: *Sisaok* name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Ālqālaal* in the beginning of time.
Łāliaxas, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a [illegible] man.
[824] [illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Inner bark of cedar.
[illegible], "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
[illegible]: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] [illegible], "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive [illegible] when in a state of madness.
[illegible]: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a dancer is performing.
[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

[illegible]: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
[601] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Mother, term used by children.
[illegible]: Celebrated *[illegible]* hunter.
[825] [illegible]: Butterfly.
[illegible]: Measuring worm.
[824] [illegible]: Fly, insect.
[illegible]: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] [illegible]: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
[614] [illegible]: Stepfather.
[illegible]: Elderly male relatives of some ancestral family.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *[illegible]* when used by a male child.
[illegible]: Form of the name *[illegible]* when used by a female child.
[illegible]: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[illegible]: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] [illegible]: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] [illegible]: Toad.
[illegible]: Supernatural giant toad.
[illegible]: Salmon eggs.
[illegible]: Old male sea-lion.
[825] [illegible]: Water ouzel.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *[illegible]*, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
[illegible]: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] [illegible]: One of the parsleys.
[illegible]: Berry, black in colour.
[illegible]: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
[illegible]: Spruce.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Land of salmon.
[224] *[illegible]*: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] [illegible]: Red bearberry.

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[illegible]: Leaf of salalberry.
[illegible]: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, [824]
hence,
2—Smallpox. [789]
[illegible]: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Child. [601]
[illegible]: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
[illegible]: Excreta.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to children when used by an old person. [614]
[illegible]: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
[illegible], [illegible]: A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in a song. [764]
[illegible]: Supernatural being who gives potency to sacred rites.
[illegible]: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [976] *
[illegible]: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [995]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
[illegible]: Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
[illegible]: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Lice. [825] ●
[illegible]: Adolescent youth.
[illegible]: Blue grouse.
[illegible]: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
[illegible]: Hand net for catching oolachan. [227] ,
[illegible]: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
[illegible]: Wrestling.
[illegible]: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Na'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
[illegible]: Grizzly bear.
[illegible]: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time. [825]
[illegible]: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Nusqalst* man.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
[illegible]: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naas: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

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[illegible]: Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

[301] [illegible]: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: To dance.

[825] [illegible]: Those who dance at marriages.

[illegible]: Mallard duck.

[736] [illegible]: Night of potlatch on which sacred initiates appear for a short dance.

[illegible]: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.

[415] [illegible]: Thimble-like wooden dish.

[illegible]: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.

[illegible]: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Professional name of a *kusiut* member.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Sorcerer; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.

[illegible]: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.

[illegible]: Influential Bella Coola chief.

[776] [illegible], "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.

[784] [illegible]: 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.

[illegible]: Old woman resident in [illegible]'s house in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.

[illegible]: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.

[illegible]: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlitcaplitana*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a [illegible] man.

[illegible]: One who has preserved a marriage song.

[585] [illegible]: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the recitation of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.

[431] [illegible]: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[524] [illegible]: Wooden ring used in a game.

[illegible]: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.

[825] [illegible]: Otter.

[illegible]: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.

[illegible]: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlitcaplitana*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

[556] [illegible], "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.

[illegible]: Shaman's name derived from *Tlitcaplitana*.

[illegible]: "I have saved you."

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[illegible]: Intangible kusiut prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [824]

[illegible]: Expert supernatural dancer; in his [illegible] he is a puzzling [illegible] guest.

[illegible]: First complete dance given by a kusiut initiate. [825]

[illegible]: Mammal, any kind.

[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

[illegible]: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kusiut prerogative as a [illegible]; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

[illegible]: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, kusiut masks are hung.

[illegible]: The making and use of [illegible] nets for [illegible].

[illegible]: 1—"The Advisor": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; currently, "The Sages."

[illegible]: 1—Ceremony at which sacred names are validated in the eyes of the fellow villagers. [559]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [746]

[illegible]: Assemblage of the kusiut to practise difficult rites.

[illegible], "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": [illegible] name given to a deserving wife.

[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.

[illegible]: Sentence of death passed by the kusiut on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

[illegible]: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

[illegible], "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: Toilet-hole.

[illegible]: Birth. [821]

[illegible]: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [769]

[illegible]: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [823]

[illegible]: 1—High tide.
2—Long life.

[illegible]: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold [illegible] post steady while being driven.

[illegible], "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], an immoral supernatural woman.

[illegible]: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

[illegible]: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the kusiut season. [535]

[illegible]: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nukaqaxtem: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nuhatco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nuqaoem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukakmoli': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuic* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

nukile ata: 1—Spider.

[778] 2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukits, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukukuinadjas, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nukiqumail di muk',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulalcumtnum: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noakxnum's* departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[352] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nuluqum:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nulilqulank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulixumanka: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-io* in the beginning of time.

nulmakmankdas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkial: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmakdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmakmankdas.*

[428] *nulmaqtmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulalostnik-ata, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *sisauk* head-dress.

nulq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tmalalits* or *sniatl.*

Nulqanlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqutaas: House-posts nearest to front door.

nulkunikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] *nulismanumtum,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

[556] *nulxodjim:* Cry uttered by a *sisauk* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *sisauk* novices.

[342] *nulxinqailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *sisauk* novice.

nulxwalkals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numalkals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numamta, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

[illegible]: Supernatural being who comes with *[illegible]* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

[illegible]: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

[illegible]: Toilet-hole.

[illegible]: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

[illegible]: Exchange marriage. [583]

[illegible]: Passenger.

[illegible]: Place near *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name created by *[illegible]* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible] *[illegible]*: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

[illegible] *[illegible]*: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

[illegible], "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: House occupied by the first settlers at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

[illegible] or *[illegible]*: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *[illegible]*. [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: Male supernatural being who travels with *[illegible]*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

[illegible]: Mother Nature.

[illegible]: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

[illegible], "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

[illegible], "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Professional name of a female droner.

[illegible]: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible], "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

nusaka: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call. 192*

nusiqml, plural, nunusiqml: Singer.

nusi'tmkta: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

Nusimusta: Mountain near *Asan-an-i.*

nusiutals or *nusiutalmp:* Second day of a *kusiut* dance.

Nusiulaixaikum: Synonym for *Tutwai-ai:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

nuskasiutsta: Repository.

nuskoli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

Nuskalalumsta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nusjolusta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

Nuskiapik: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

Nushmata: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsaisi* in the beginning of time.

Nuskmidjusta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nusjalst.*

Nushmatl: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsaisi* in the beginning of time.

Nu-skalaknmp: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [825]

nuskatla: Wasps' nest.

Nuskwalsltanda: One of the first women to settle at *Snulalt* in the beginning of time.

nuskwamtsta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

Nus-ltmm: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuslaxpqaxwalum, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alquntam.*

nushmsta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.

nushmp: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

nushtakta: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing. [756]

Nushtakatsmidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Ttiniap-liaa-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

nushumulsta: Enclosure behind fire in which *kusiut* dancers are secluded. [764]

nusjoutsa: Cleansing rites in connection with death.

Nuslakmaltmp: *Tlaiyakam* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

Nusmalsmai: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Sjuxa* in the beginning of time.

Nusmat-a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusjalst* in the beginning of time.

Nusmat-aiwa-a, "Woman of *Nusmat-a*": Probably wife of *Alquntam.*

Nus-matlilnix: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

Nusmatlilmuls: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

*192
Nusmannqkt: Area around a spring near *Nuliaas.*
[198] *nusmitsta:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nusmdsta: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuspskunsta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuspuuta Smaiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nusqaps: Skeena River.
Nusqapts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nusqalit-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nusqalst, "Place of *Sqalst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nusqatl: *utamq* village.
nusqljat: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nusqaltsutsta: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[826] *nusqo:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nus'qadjanmsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
[431] *Nusqalsmaista:* House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nusqmal: 1—One of the *s'alt* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Qomoqwa*'s house.
nusqmalst: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nusqmalsmaista: Variant of *Nusqalsmaista.*
Nusqmalsmaiskts Noäkymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Noäkymm*'s canoe.
[198] *Nusqmaista,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nusqmatlnaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qmatlnasta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqwaslim-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuix.*
Nusq'ʷlas: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nusqwchal:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nusqal: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nusqwatsanmsta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
Nushlsta: Locality near *Stuiq.*
[431] *nushsmaita,* "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *sisauk* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[556]
[431] *nushsmntsta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *sisauk* dancer.
Nusliiq: Herald of *Smaunq* in the beginning of time.
Nushmntmmnq, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nushkmqs: Carpenter.
nushqmsmtr-a: Smear of red paint.

Nusmin·ämy, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. 192*
nusminista: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nusx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nuspalyiq: *Tāl·io* bird hunter,
Nuspmda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuspmnsian·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
Nusxnq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nusxl'ipsta: Repository, archaic term. [431]
nusxmnx·at·nuixnam: The assumption of a name upon earth.
dusxwakmputa, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nusxwa·ista: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]
nusxulixmtsm: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [785]
nulaikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nulaxdaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nulxm: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulxl, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulxnqmxm: *Alteration of a dance from nsxak to kusiut.* [825]
nultalxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nultalalnamxm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nultalalnam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nultma, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nultaqixl: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nusqalit* in the beginning of time. [845]
nuthaxalt: Parents of twins.
nutsaqmxs: Wolf. [825]
Nulxalmxis: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulxqamls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nulsiakm: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thixaplilan·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulaikim*. [756]
nulsiaqmxm: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulsixtalxm: *Kusiutm* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones. [431]
nulxkwmxm: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance.
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqaxa, "The Fate Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nutqnalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nuluinta: *Kusiut* name of a *Tximsil* man.

*192 nalsinats: Synonym for qomo·ts, the large cone-shaped sound whistle.

[534] *Naiyá·tal*: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Naiya·kwi: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.

*[103] *Nalqaptskwan·e*, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nusleets-conney.

[823] nu'pxpalsis: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
Numaist·a: utamy village.

Nuwálsalt, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.

Nuxálk: Bella Coola valley.

[101] *Nuxálkmx*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuxpm: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.

Nusum: Name of a female composer.

Nuxalmálsais, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.

nuxas: Light.

Nusim: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.

Nusimátlsis: *Ei'aqs* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuxmalmnmás·a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

[825] nuxcavant: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxstimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[227] nuxnustots: Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
Nuxsulz: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.

[585] [425] nuxwalstnum: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.

[828] *Nuyo*: Mountain near *Stuix*.
nuyálsikkmut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.

Nuyal·alsis: One of the first women to settle at *Tál·ia* in the beginning of time.

Nu'yan·laim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alqum: Kimsquit term for *a'alk*, *archaic*.

'O'i': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.

[824] osal: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Otqumáp*: Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Otqlimut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.

oly: 1—The *kusiut* prerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective*.

Otsáwi: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.

Otlliyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[825] Otsalámut, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] 'oxatalil': Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

[illegible]: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]

[illegible], plural, [illegible]*mátuts: Kusiut* patron.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tcmotl* woman who died about 1915.

[illegible]: [illegible] village.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiotem* dancer.

[illegible]: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snulɬli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.

[illegible]: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiotem* dancer.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."

[illegible]: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

[illegible]: Skunk cabbage. [824]

[illegible]: Supernatural being, herald of *Älquntäm*.

[illegible]: The steeping of *susaok* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusq̇alst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]

[illegible]: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Q̇omqo·ts*.

[illegible]: Place near *Stuix*.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Q̇wiyai* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]

[illegible]: Hereditary tendency. [827]

[illegible]: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [784]

[illegible]: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [825]

[illegible]: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch.

[illegible]: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.

[illegible], "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]

[illegible]: "Where are you going?"

[illegible], "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.

[illegible]: First night of a potlatch. [601]

[illegible]: Third eldest brother or sister.

[illegible]: Name of Mink as chief.

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: Celebrated *Waeyal·a* warrior.

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otsulta: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Oulxän·i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxłoxem: Synonym for *Xemxemälotla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *ṗai·s:* Small wooden dish.
Ṗaluätl: Legless messenger of the dead.
Ṗa·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] *ṗäsutsım:* Synonym for *nuṗäxsikel·ım:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. [431] They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Pätcätcus: Ancestral name of a *Nusḷalst* man.
[412] *ṗätsalta:* Bone needle.
päxotla: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe·sslə: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqotla: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pılstl: Herring scales.
pınäxta: Dance-apron.
Pınx̣kla: One of the first men to settle at *Snuləli* in the beginning of time.
[825] *ṗkım·:* Mosquito.
Ponpoilotsdimut: Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
po·qwais: Variety of *sımıq*.
Potləs: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Po·islə: Mesatche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *potsql:* False hellebore.
[411] *poistın:* Bow, weapon.
ṗoyäx̣, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief. [195]
ṗsaixl: Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[372] *ṗskun:* Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *ṗwi:* Halibut.
ṗx': Crabapple.
[824] *ṗxolt:* Bunchberry.

Q

Q̣a'äklis: Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
[525] *qai:* King stick in a gambling game.
qainaxqwalitl: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai·nux̣s: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Q̣alyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Q̣äk'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Q̣äkms: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

q̣ālikw: Omen of death, generic term. 192*
q̣ālka: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
q̣āmā, vocative, q̣āmaa: Mother, term used by child.
Q̣āmālxem: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Q̣āmaux: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Q̣āmspoxtāmem: am'kl-a name of a Kimsquit man.
q̣āmxāmila, vocative, q̣āmxāmilaa: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
q̣anxia, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
q̣aa·liaks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Q̣aominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Q̣apālus: Kusiut name of a *Stuux* man. [825]
Q̣a·pxaak: ustāmx chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Q̣āqalᵘli: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Q̣āq̣as: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaq̣as*, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
q̣ālānm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxmm*.
q̣ātitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Q̣ālsmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
q̣ātsx': Star-fish. [825]
q̣āx: Rabbit.
q̣ā·x: Salmon-berry. [824]
Q̣āxlawāls: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
q̣āxmāts: Unidentified plant.
q̣ahm: Black cod. [825]
q̣am, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
q̣amia: Wooden armour.
Q̣ankilst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Q̣ax·axmsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Q̣eil: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Slskiutl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
q̣e·ko: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Q̣eldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
q̣i'aqa: One of the *s'alk* dances.
Q̣itlia, "Head": *Stuux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
q̣eḳālyālxaslaixq̣mam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [431]
q̣ēlalitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

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qmātlmelp: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *kusiut* performer.

Qnuml: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.

Qo: Mountain above *Stuix.*

[777] *qokān·i:* Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.

[825] *Qolbaiutl:* Locality near the head of Dean Channel.

qolan: 1—Beaver.
  2—*Nusānkāmx* name of a Kimsquit man.

Qolestl: Man mentioned in a song.

Qolliaohmx: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man with prerogative of biting himself.

qolulik: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.

Qolwaliotl: Influential *Nusqalst* chief who died about 1910.

Qomānakwala: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.

Qomcua: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
  2—White person.
  3—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

qomniqxul: Clean, dry skull.

qomoqmai·s: Stump, in the language of Raven.

Qomoqma: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
  2—Ancestral name of a *Qomqo·ts* man.

Qomo'sala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.

Qomotla: Ancestral name of a *Tcimatl* woman.

[534] *qomo·ts:* Large, cone-shaped whistle used in *sisaok* rites.

Qomqo·ts, "Salty?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

qopai: To drift over, of smoke.

Qopmpmān·a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

[252] *qopsta:* Framework of split sticks for toasting salmon.

qopta: Drum.

[534] *Qopmai:* One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.

Qoqayel: Bella Bella village.

qosa: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" presents.

qotlum: Third day of a *kusiut* dance.

Qotlnālos: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.

Qotlmalos: Settlement in the Carrier country.

qotsekum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged
[581] by the offending party to settle a feud.

qotsik: Wolverine.

[825] *qotsiltsis dimnes,* "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or
[567] *vice versa.*

Qowi: 1—One of the names of Raven as chief.
  2—*Tlaiyākam* name of a Kimsquit man.
  3—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

Qoultanas: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.

Qoxolān·i: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tcimatl* man.
  2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *qoxān:* White swan.

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qasia, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

q̣pämdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

q̣pänliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Q̣pänpänliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Synwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Q̣pujulus: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Q̣sxman: Village on the Skeena River.

q̣aisatl: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

qubatl: Salmon liver.

q̣uks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

qulwas, *vocative*, *qulwais:* Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

qulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

quma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white man. [825]

Q̣umqumm ul di dä Sxem, "The Unloosar of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

q̣upstänm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.

2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

q̣upulstälets: Stone axe. [412]

q̣us: Period of engagement.

Q̣wakila: *Q̣umqo·ts* man.

Q̣wai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.

2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Q̣waistmmlaix: *Stuix* man mentioned in an ancient story.

Q̣walxasän·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuix* woman.

Q̣waixwus, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

qwalts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

q̣walm, *vocative*, *q̣walïm*; *plural*, *älq̣walm:* Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Q̣wa'lmus: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

qwaliik: Gull. [825]

q̣wal'ma'ks, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Q̣walxwalalim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

Q̣walna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Q̣wamana'ks: Chief living on the upper *Tsamat* in the beginning of time.

qwanä·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Q̣wapu: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Q̣waqmal: Place on Schooner Pass.

Q̣waqmatila: *Susook* name of a Bella Coola man.

q̣watlxalam: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

q̣watlnasam: Figure representing crest.

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*[773] *ǫwatlnuta:* 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
[777] 2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.
ǫwatlnta; vocative, ǫwatlntaa, (rarely, ǫwaltunta): Crest.
[825] *ǫwas:* Raven.
ǫwas: Big old male mountain goat.
Q̣wasila: Q̣omqo·ts man living in the last century.
Q̣waplialis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.
Q̣waxqwax-waman: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.
Q̣waxwats: One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[601] *ǫwaxwam:* Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.
qwa'yalaks: Steller's jay.
Q̣wahil: Kimsquit woman.
[825] *ǫwana:* Woman's pubic hair.
ǫwata: Sea-lion cub.
[431] *ǫwem:* Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.
Q̣weta: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
qwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.
[825] *ǫwilais:* Yearling seal.
ǫwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.
Q̣winas: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Q̣wiqwanaxwa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Älquntäm.*
Q̣wisiskilak": *Nusqwal* name of a Kimsquit man.
Q̣wiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.
Q̣wl: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
Q̣wlsiya: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Q̣wlaxwna: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Q̣wliutl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
ǫwnta: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.
[583] *Q̣wosalt:* Village west of Kwatna settled in the beginning of time.
qwoxlaxdjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.
[854] *Q̣woyusdi'tsas:* Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.
ǫwtutl: Cradle.
Q̣wu'nak': *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Q̣wuw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[581] *ǫ"xla:* The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.
[195] *ǫxwakim:* The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Saikwaia·sem: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
sai·mis plalas: The constant blinking of the eyes.

Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saiχnās: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sālāisi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa·lkālstımm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus. [251]
sa·lpstımm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sālıskekdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sālukwalās: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
sāml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sānailχmulelts Ālquntām: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sānutlkım or *Sānutlkımdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sānuximāxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuıx* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sātıx; *vocative, sātāi*; *vocative plural, sātuxwa·ks:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sā·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sātlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sātlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sā·ima: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
saiolts: Whetstone, *archaic*.
Sā·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sā·tskamχ: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sā·tlamnān·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow.
samadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present. [573]
saχi, vocative, saχinao: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Saχinao: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sāxkam: Bracken. [824]
sāxwānos: Tide flats.
sakdjulk: Heart. [823]
Salwalosam: That part of *Sonχ*ʷ' which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhetl: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutān·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samsamlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsta, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwolsām: Leader of musicians. [821]

sa·qwa·ts: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sijidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Salakmān·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sakilaxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
salima siālamkek: River net for salmon.
[822] *Satsalatl:* Echo.
Saxsaxpālaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Saxsaxfwalyalaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
Sialxelāx: Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
[805] *Siafam*, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidāxsm:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
● [805] *Sidakaos di Āno'likwalsaix*, "The Coming of *Āno'likwalsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siatla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Sl'islaliti*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Sl'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *sl'atliuluk:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *sl'ipikam*, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sismt*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sksāml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikālamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisauk* rites.
Sikālikmum: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sifuly*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwalekx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwaldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuux* man.
Sikxm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[224] *silimaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaqqma'ax: *Sisauk* head-dress.
[827] *siniaits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipadjaxstumax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpaxus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinawaak*, "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinaxikemitl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinanukalakm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

Sinuyatl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximätl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuux* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sieºmsta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sipälyälosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child. [861]

Siqälyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnäm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxmaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisasts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Silhmsta: One of the names of the supreme god. [778]

Sitlliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *susaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·l: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutanqkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutudles: Wordless chorus. [533]

Simal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djeldäunx* chief living in the last century.

simliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sigman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsän·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsinqutnam: Synonym for *Mulakila*, the supernatural being connected with *susaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *änänuskn*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwopänkwak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sisxwatl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyoutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sioutla* may be connected with this.

*192 *sixa:* Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sixnots:* Fog.
[825] *sixu':* Pack-rat.
sɪlk: Mind or mentality.
[828] *sɪlqtan:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
sɪlxotlcālma: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sɪlslān·i: One of the first women to settle at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.
[825] *smd:* Mountain.
smlk or *smlkats:* Salmon, generic form.
smqmmnikdas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Smsiutaāks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *smsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Smtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Snk'lusam:* Bella Coola chief.
Snqlominit: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] *snqus:* Anger.
snx: Sun.
Snxākila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Ālqālāxl* in the beginning of time.
Snxālotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Susak* name of a Kimsquit man.
Snxan·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *snxkt:* Mucus.
Snxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqwlaiāk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *susak:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
susiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Susnxakila: Shaman's name of a *Snxl* woman.
suskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitcāplilān·a* to the one favoured.
[601] *suksam:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *smmulta:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *sqq·si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *syuk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *slixwatwalslp:* Snowberry.
sxsuxqaiinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
sxsmmsta, "Food Supply": Synonym for *sol'olam,* ancestral hunting-ground.
[825] *skalkʷ:* Porcupine.
[824] *skāl·ats:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skālutslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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shak': Devil's-club.
skainamadits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Skami, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snulali* chief about 1910. [765]
spamtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
skaq: Anus.
spanm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamalsmana-a: One of the first women to settle at *Snulali* in the beginning of time.
Skatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsomhm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
skelists: Merganser. [825]
skwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
ski: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Skimutsitl: *Stuix* man mentioned in an ancient story.
skinap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
skinwas: Cloud.
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
shmaix, *shmanl*, or *shmadjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmnanl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Shmnulana-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
shu'tcals: Fungus. [824]
shlsmaiaxta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *nusək* head-dress.
skq: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shahk': Rose.
Shalikwana-a: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
shal: Wasp. [825]
Shalsmmaista: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Skqwalsatl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slskiutl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
skai, *vocative*, *skai:* Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
sklaq: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
sklsa: Game played with throwing stones.
skusiut: Synonym for *yeaxmax*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
skwa-akwa: River sculpin. [825]

smā·tl: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

smātl ās skwatsta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

smı·ks: 1—Mussel. [825] ●
2—Freshwater mussel.

smuxmuxuxls: One of the thrushes.

smuqāmāts: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Snākelt: Āsān·ān·i man mentioned in an ancient story.

snānik': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

snāx: Slave.

Snaxhākila: One of the first men to settle at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

snāxom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

sniāndcuqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Sniaxlikwan·a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Sninia: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Snitsmān·a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Snmnkhaʷks: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

smnuq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

smnuqos di sonxʷ'dai: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

smnuqos wa smdās: Variety of *smnuq* living above tree line.

Snutqwalmkaista: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sno·abādāx: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sno'olnlts Ālquntām: Deer son of the supreme god.

Sno'oniqwulx, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Snoqolaqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

snu'aiyewa: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Tlitcāplilān·a.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

snudaxt'eq: Unidentified berry. [824]

snukālmāls: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Snukilmāls: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

snukimāx: Part of house behind fire. [824]

snuklllaik: Unidentified plant.

snulikuml: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Snulexwnimutik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Noākxnm.*

snulnusltl: Twin.

Snulqulxāls: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Qomoqwa's* house.

Snunua·lma: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Sonx̣ʷ'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuux* man.
Soptos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tcımotl* man.
soqolcāxmm: Scalp.
soqwalākt': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxgmmān·a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spānbātlinaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spāniesta: Temporary camping-place.
Spātcaldt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spālki: Star
spekum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spependouts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
spikpikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
spikta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Spipixinān·i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spi'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
sphx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *snmq* with female organs.
spoxālicua: Unidentified berry. [824]
S'ps', Cold Wind: A supernatural being. [821]
Spskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Q̣omqo·ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
spla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputx̣: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhailaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxyā'mpdimut: *Susaok* name of *Xixais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Susaok* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqāl·a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqoolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqāpts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqalst or *sqalstutl:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusqalst*. The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
sqama: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqaml: Land of Ashes.
sqasusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
sqals: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatsulx: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sqosm: Flood.

[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sq̣etl: Sling.
[578] *sq̣etlq̣etlkm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqimamas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiols: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *sq̣ema:* Wooden comb.
S'qıs't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqaml.*
sq̣o: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolxmes:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqolkisdjot: Long phallus.
Sqomall: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqoselx: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqols:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
sq̣pmeax: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *sq̣telp:* Maple.
sq̣um: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
[824] *squpaitl:* Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
sqwal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
sqwalem: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
sqwalxwalam: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
[533] 2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *sqwal·ätın:* Large, unidentified bird.
Sqwlätua: Heat: A supernatural being.
[374] *Sqwli:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sq̣wo'sın:* Loon.
stai·tl: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of
[262] preventing hunger.
Stalq̣alosım, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stälnämx; *plural, statälımx*; *vocative plural, statälitämx:*
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Älq̣äläsl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sınal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sısaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stän:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *ständabitlam:* Bat.
ständimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation
[601] older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
stäntänamts: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *staalt:* Whetstone.
Staats: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Stap':* Mountain near *Täl·lo.*
staq̣am, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stänmats: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *stals:* Cranberry.

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sluxqaliku': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.

Sicꞏtixem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.

stcaqʷ': That part of a house on either side of the central fire.

Sicitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [573]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.

stcinsnäm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]

Steqmastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]

sicꞏpil: Shadow.

stetqumas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]

stekas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.

sliatmalxs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]

stilwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.

stip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]

shikx: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]

shxem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]

sliankt: Caribou.

sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]

Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]

sihmstä or *sihmstänälas:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.

sihmstaliktsta: Body.

sihmstänälosäm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.

Stlxwaxwaknimänꞏa: Professional name of a female berry-picker.

Stlxwaxwulasam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]

slika: Mountain goat grease.

slskälaya: Castor. [824]

Slskial, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Slskla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.

slsmäs: Octopus. [825]

Slsaaktlas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.

slsqmasma: Red rock paint. [386]

slsla: Singer's baton.

slsulh: Text.

sllelꞏqaus: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]

stuin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]

Stuax: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]

stutsam: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.

stutsaiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.

Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.

sukwulel: Black raspberry. [824]

sulatu: Ocean.

[825] *Sulukal:* Mountain on west side of the Kimaquit River.
susla-al'tskma-kwa: One of the river sculpins.
susalumls: To gather cedar-bark.
Ssimána: One of the first women to settle on the Kimaquit River in the beginning
Sutál: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sulkaha, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimaquit River.
[101] *Sutskimp:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Suxwalk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimaquit.
Swatls: One of the first men to settle on the Kimaquit River in the beginning of time.
Swaly: Mountain at Kimaquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swtlanmdimat: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swaleta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swa'swa: Mud.
ssmita: Person or object which is taboo.
Ssmiarmax: Evil supernatural being.
Spaitlwa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
ssákmem gáli máns: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
spákita: Sorcerer's box.
Ssa-ilsutsmta-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
spán: Female lover, especially a paramour.
spánm: Male lover.
Spapo-al: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimaquit River in the beginning of time.
spum: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sntita:* Ceremonial chastity.
sntitadjut: The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sntimnai:* Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
spik: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Spalpádjuttáw-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
ssim: Cedar-bark cord.
Ssimána: One of the first women to settle on the Kimaquit River in the beginning of time.
Ssimssimalt: Immoral supernatural woman.
pala': Afterbirth.
Spiyuttáw-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Spants:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *ssmmanets hlt':* Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Ssk'lstl,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
Ssábl, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *ssla-al':* Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sslamalk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Sṇṇṇasāus: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sẹsutl: Name taken by a *Stuṇx* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsaqmatl: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwanāi·a: Name created upon earth. [825]
sxwapānitl: Deer.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat. [415]
Sxwaahmqnatm, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice. [805]
sẹwamads, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch. [431]
sxw"lāmkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief. [195]
sẹyaxwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

łabālst: Cave.
łai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker. [601]
—2—Masculine suffix.
Ṫaiakwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snulle·tl* in the beginning of time.
taiāmtmak: Desertion of husband by his wife. [586]
łain: Dorsal fin of a fish. [825]
taitaimg: Heavy kind of copper.
taitamax: Tournament between rival villages. [628]
Tal·ia: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm. [101]
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Tāliakāa·a: *Nusqmal* name embodied in a *Snulsli* origin myth.
Tāmāmsla·pste, "The Breather": One of *Ṫlitcaplilāa·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukua: *Stuṇx* man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapānammam: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch. [824]
łapāx: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
łaqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta·s: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tātā; vocative, Tātas: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer. [601]
2—Father, term used by child. [824]
łalhaanlp: Water-lily.
Ta·ya·ak: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tāalawam: Leading chief of *Aiqālāsl* and reputed founder of the village.
Ṫaqqlaxam: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
łahan: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical. [825]
tamkwl·li: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird. [601]
łamat: Husband (*di tsalamstalai:* My husband).
tamaw': River.
Tamamalus: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

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Taqwalaisla: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Tasahl:* Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

tsli: Dog salmon.

Tsaḱmq, "Whose Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Necleetsconnay River.

tsqnnyun-i: Owl.

[601] *tsai:* 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

Tcākwaakus: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.

Tcākwak: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

tcākwalatl: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *tcakulima:* White slug with black and red face.

[824] *tcākcālakam:* Pleasure walk.

tcāls: Cedar-bark.

[411] *tcā·n:* Sealing spear.

[825] *tcan:* Snake.

Tcaqaicks': Mountain near the Dean River.

Tcaqas: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *tcātstaalp:* Red cedar tree.

Tcawat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, *probably* Knight Inlet.

tcawanat-aia: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Tcalkwap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *tciba:* Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Tciba: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

Tciknuatl: One of the first men to settle at *Alpālaal* in the beginning of time.

[825] *tciman-i:* Large clam-shell.

Tcimlaia: *Susaak* name of a *Sisaul* man.

Tcimtlias: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcipsa: Fisher.

Tcitsmdzlaiz, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

[601] *tci gwas di emts:* Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tci gwas di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Tciswatl: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Tcbasa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Tcol'laiya, "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcmalk: Valley.

Tcmatl, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tcmqwak: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

Tcnalst: Mountain in the Carrier country.

[824] *tcskwanalp:* Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tcskwanalpa-ts, "Where There Is Much *tcskwanalp*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tcalá: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tcopinātl: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tcwa·st: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
telaos: To marry.
telaosem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
titilit: One having a voice like an eagle's.
ḥqwaistmam, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583] [824]
ḥacus: Clover.
ḥalála: Robin. [825]
ḥannsna: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
ḥasmmta: Arrow.
ḥnta: Adze. [412]
ḥrwsma: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes.
ḷla: Black bear. [825]
ḷlaiyákam: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife. [586]
3—Name taken by an early *ḷlaiyákam* dancer at Kimsquit.
ḷlakān: Snail. [825]
Tlakmaitl: Bella Bella woman married by *Smaoan* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Tlakwakila: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Ḳwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
*Tlakwakilayek*ᵘᵐ*:* Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
ḷlakwan·i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
ḷlakwalk: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *uxiaq* is problematical. [825]
Tlāliatlis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlalinkī'lak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlao'kwas: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuskiayek*.
Tlaomika'lis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlaqmai·ks: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Tlaqmā·ks*, although a common origin seems probable.
Tlaqmā·ks: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
ḷlaqtat: Fir-bark.
ḷlaqaqs: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ālsmam*.
ḷla'swala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Tlaswas: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

Tłaxamymitł: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.

[825] *łłcahndłlintł:* Sardine.

Tłikmaxatáhka, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.

łłkmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *łłima:* Mountain goat sinew.

Tłisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst*, when in human form at the beginning of time.

Tłitcapliłan·a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *łłixin:* Sea-lion.

Tłmstadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *łłok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.

[825] *łłokulx:* Virulent skin disease.
łłopan·i: Cormorant.

Tłofo·tł, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tłoqats, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

łłpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

[823] *łłpanap:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.
łłpapalam: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.

[415] *łłulai·:* Water-tight basket.

[824] *łmiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.
Tnigs: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.

[482] *łnixatł:* Tump-line.
taba·: Navel.

[825] *Tabnkl:* Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
łofa: Mink.

łomidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *top·a:* Synonym for *dzamamamtmam*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *łopimac:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nusakakamg* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[821] *Tpiksta:* Star in the Great Bear.
łpanq: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tpumatlas, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Tal·ia*.

[291] *łsaikatł:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.

łsaiae: Stonecrop.

Tsaialił: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsá·kmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsał: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Tsaalmorm: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

[825] *łsa·ł:* Green barnacles on water-covered stones.
łsitax: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Ṫsi·dis: Kitlobe River.

Ṫsilwalaks: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]

l̇sima: Animal's entrails.

l̇si·t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death. [763]

l̇sitaowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.

l̇nklusmam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]

Ṫnkwi: Restoration Bay. [431]

Ṫnlkt, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Bald eagle. [825]
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

l̇nx: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.

l̇nxtāmem or *l̇nxtālaix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.

tskankdmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Qomoqwa*'s house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sātlia* man in the beginning of time.

l̇ski·kdimat: *Kusiotem* rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]

l̇sla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.

l̇slāqwsaix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]

l̇slla: Presents distributed when a *susaok* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutwinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431] [465]

l̇sma: Belt.

l̇sna: Nettle. [824]

Tsomilaks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.

l̇spadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]

l̇spatl: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]

l̇sqatha: Winter wren.

tsqwalt: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]

l̇subilta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]

l̇sulhm: Prompter.

Tsumilaks: One of the first women to settle at *Snuklli* in the beginning of time.

Ṫsmakilak: One of the first men to settle at *Tcumail* in the beginning of time. [824]

l̇swatalp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked.

tutulusaq: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic*. [825]

tutupān·i: Trout, *plural*.

tutus'stā'āksalt: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.

tutuyc, "What Is Good": Synonym for *ulsāmāmmtmm*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]

Tutwal·as: Synonym for *Nusixilaixalhm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

tutwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *susaok* and *s'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.

Twalālic: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

Twalosdimut: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

twihmdimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tgamätl,* "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] *Tgällsik:* Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tgngan·iaqim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

ḷxwunikwalotl: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U·sḳäxus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time.

W

Waäkus: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Q̇wiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snulәli* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—*Susaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai·s:* 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiuxsum: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakitmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakwas: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Walq̇kitmai: One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal·äsxia:* Lynx.

walikw': Woman who has deserted her husband.

[586] *wakmptum:* To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

walcinu: "I go."

[824] *walilikwätsälätsäläts,* "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanql: Name of *Smaoan*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Waosnqslaix: *Nusäxkämx* name of a Kimsquit man.

Waowal·is: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

Waoyəl·a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

We·put: Mountain near *Stuux.*

Wasila: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

waskusiutaix: Death in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

[533] *was·nän·imutsts:* Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wasonxʷ' wawukliloqosil:* Synonym for *sonxʷ'*: The sky.

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Wat·as: *Xuxais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
wawuntc: Dog, *archaic*.
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snulәli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ekwula: Synonym for *Kwula*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, vocative, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nusqalst* several generations ago.
winās di ḳala, "War-Party of the Ocean," or ***winās di sā·ildjo·ts***, "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwintumak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpawakās: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Wisumkilak: *Smaoan*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'tālao: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilsulks: *Susaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixut: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wul·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wulx̣: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wulx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wulx̣: Cripple.

X

Xaiāqalatl: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
X̣aiḳts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuileax*. [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xālaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqānts: Great blue heron.
X̣āt: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola. [825]
xāxaq': Canada goose.
x̣al·a: Root of *qāx̣māts*, an unidentified plant.
X̣ekalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwotsan·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelitmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *x̣em* after *s*. [821]
Xemcua: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snulәli* in the beginning of time.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Q̓omqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtnım: *Kusiut* name of a *Sîskiutl* man.
Xemxemālotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sısaok* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtnım: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Álqlāxl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
X̣edilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Q̓otlnelos* in the beginning of time.
X̣elāsu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
● [825] *ẋaẋs:* Marten.
[412] *ẋiis:* Stone axe.
xılxıl: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Xımpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xımxımlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xımxımoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ẋınẋınās·i, plural, ẋınẋınāsoksi:* Little girl.
X̣ınẋınes: 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
[517] 2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xıxais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xıximāẋ·a, "Right Foot": *Stuıx* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Ẋıẋis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
nuxmānoās: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlāxtnım: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlāni: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlokın·imut:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
X̣maxots: Locality below *Nusq̓alst.*
[825] *ẋmẋmatsl:* Minnows.
[601] *ẋnas:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*tci ẋnaslsaix:* My wife).
ẋnaslaix: Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[614] *ẋnesdām* or *nuẋnesdām:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
[423] *Xnutli:* Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokılt: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolāxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuıx* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
X̣onẋotām: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
X̣oqotlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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xosa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down." [227]
qota: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
qoxpankqta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers. [292]
xwanetl: Spring water.
Xwantlo: Settlement in the Carrier country. [824]
xwe·k': Cow parsnip.
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale.*
Xwinxwitsakumlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwisamkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwlla: Wrestling.
Xwodjen·i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuïkax* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwonxwonm: 1—Hummingbird. [825] ●
2—One of the first men to settle at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
xwonxwontäl·aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwopa·xts di siut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
qwosän·i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks. [525]
Xwolsekmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwpuntmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yäkotlus: Ancestral name of a *Stuux* man.
Yä·k^{w}axwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye··: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeälos: One of the first men to settle at *Nuisqwalt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeäxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *sisaok* rites.
yeux: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjalaas: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeotla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ye: Good, *adjective.* [584]
yeki: Mountain goat.
Yel·äxlaix: Goose Island. [825]
yelale: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yelhal·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
yelkatlmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sawadjut.*
yelleilaixl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

[728] *yelumax:* Peace ceremony.
Yelxlin: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yen·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yat·en: Rattle.
[425] *yet·imm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[583] [554] *yetsalt; plural, yeetsält; vocative plural, yeetsalt:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yelsqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexasila: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *yaxdimut:* Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
yaxo'maitl: Old, female sea-lion.
Yeytlin: Ancestral name of a *Snxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
[372] *Yulätimut:* One of the supernatural Carpenters.
yuhmta: Sticks for making fire.
yupälx: Promontory.
yu'pätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuqwa·t: utämx village.
Yuyuhmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulkʷmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Älqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snulolt* in the beginning of time.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754 The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to
789 be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong
man; curing lung trouble; making the river erode where wanted;
856 and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing of craziness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

754 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves;
789 a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper,
and with lost pieces of thimble berry shoots which were acciden-
824 tally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest;
825 a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of apron fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

789 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves
856 of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but
Joshua said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians
824 say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When
535 a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Joshua held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor men danced.

789 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed,
825 if the warm limbs of a recently dead beaver were applied to her.
856 The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

755 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold,
825 the patient expectorated in something and some one secretly mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven 755
ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's 825
belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person
affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympa- [754]
thetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft.

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break 789
a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in 825
the place.

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, 754
warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of 856
a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called 825
stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to
the child.

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used 754
by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who 756
had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the 825
shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic

754 756 825 magic probably originated from observing the many very erratic and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

754 825 856 When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow jacket's nest was burned and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacket's natural defense of it's nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

754 825 The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of craziness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad.

[515 825] To make a person's face swell and superate until death came, the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

[824] To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

754 One very old man, Judas by name, boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad box used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1922 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Schooner, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1923. Captain Schooner died a few days later. He was said to understand malevolent witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief so that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad box.

B

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

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Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

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Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian amusing himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

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The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinnelkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (*Orthoptera*), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Telcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (*Cercopidae*), is said

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B 825 by some old Bellacoola men to be good for sores, but my informant
757 did not believe it.

C 825 Among the Ulkatcho it is numerous, but was not used, not even as a medicine.

B 825 A bumble-bee, identified as *Bombus appositus* Cresson, by Dr. H. J. Franklin, among the Bellacoola, was called Tikquanats or the large Skotl, Skotl being the name of three kinds of insects, a bumble-bee, a yellow jacket, and a hornet. It was not taken nor used, and was said to do no harm to people. My informant did not know whether it had a house or not. Neither did he know that it made honey until told so by white men. They say the bee took one of the prickers of the swamp gooseberry for a stinger, but my informant said he did not believe this. He thought it had a sting in its mouth, not in its tail, until I showed him. The Bellacoola have a story that a being considered by a little girl to be a man, but by an elder sister to be a bumble-bee, was once seen coming from the noonday sun. The little girl became blind,
B [773] but her eyes appeared to be all right. Many thought she was made blind by too much sunlight when she looked at the man who was a bumble-bee.

C 825 226 Among the Ulkatcho, this bumble-bee was called Whultocho, *Whulto* being the name of a yellow jacket, and *cho* meaning large. *Whus* or *Whis* means pricker. The bumble-bee was not used as fish bait.

B 825 An insect, probably the hornet, is called Slow lowstl, by the Bellacoola, who say it has a little white on the tail and makes a small nest in a tree in July.

The yellow jacket among the Bellacoola was called Quolalaits (Clolaclaylaits) (Clolaclaylaits skotl) while all three kinds of insects, the bumble-bee, the yellow jacket and the hornet, were called Skotl. The yellow jacket was known to make a nest. The nest was used in sympathetic magic or witchcraft as follows: When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to
B [754] be a quarrelsome person, the nest of the yellow-jacket was burned and the ashes rubbed on the child. When the child grew up he or she would fight with everyone.

A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bellacoola, was called Mammish, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Numammish was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said *mammish*, but when the supposed flies fell they were seen to be toads. B 825 [103]

Among the Ulkatcho, this fly was called Asthuz, and was said to lay its eggs on salmon. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the blossoms of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx, called Goosss in Ulkatcho, were put in oil of the eulachon fish or any kind of oil and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was smoked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. Flies were not used as fish bait. C 825 C [824] [251] [226]

The Gad-fly, *Tabanus* sp.? probably *sonomensis* O. G. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the horses come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bellacoola it is called Silt lay estl. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the caribou in July, and these hatch into "worms." The face and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a picture which was painted on fine boxes. There was no story of this fly. B 825 B [532]

Among the Ulkatcho, this gad-fly is called Clez co, and a smaller one is called Clez cho yaz, *yaz* signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but on another occasion that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for his own amusement, my Ulkatcho Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it buzz. C 825 C [824] [751]

Two kinds of little black biting fly, horse fly (*Symphoromyia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Skikpie estl in Bellacoola. They are called Clez cho yaz in Ulkatcho *yaz* signifying small. B C 825

The Black fly, *Simuliidae*, among the Bellacoola is called Ticos cosee and Alk co ok hotl.

Among the Ulkatcho it is called Whuchu, while Tsih is the name of black flies, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which were put such things as green, wet, or rotten wood, B C 825 or grass. Black flies were sometimes kept off by putting oil of either salmon or trout on the face and hands. Cottonwood gum with oil was also used for this purpose.

The No-see-um among the Bellacoola is called Sleigh et el ke.

C [753] Among the Ulkatcho the no-see-um is called Whetlcatl and it is said that the bite of this little fly causes swelling and sickness. It was kept off in the same manner as the black fly.

Mosquitoes, *Culicidae*, among the Bellacoola, were called Pikim.

C [824] [751] Among the Ulkatcho they were kept off with smoke in the same manner as the black fly, and with blossoms of the cow parsnip in oil in the same manner as flies. It is not clear if the gum of the cottonwood was or was not used for this purpose, as it was to keep off no-see-ums.

C [226] Among the Ulkatcho "worms" were not used as fish bait.

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OTTAWA, CANADA.

844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
near the room for a year (according to Nusk'ɛlu'sta, for ten days), else
[825] the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[852] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes
place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man
gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtsioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves
as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed
to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of
the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture.
She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and
drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may
leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may
pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee,
1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
[431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he
sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries
them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at
once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding
the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast,
during which he states that he is to be married on the following day.
He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally
they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the
girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom,
bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn
gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes
presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he
has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest.
A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man.
At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to
give him his Sisau'kн secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents
may choose.

In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-
586 money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell 774
whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul 756
should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If
a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without [828]
breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a
sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape [753]
of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the [828]
owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain 756
it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring
tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a [776]
shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song
which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases.
If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and
tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this
method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my
informant said: 'When an Awiky'ē'noq wishes to become a shaman he may [171]
go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably
Mā'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a
way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft 753
(see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A 755
peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek·'a' of the
Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to 754
me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours
to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being
considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and
the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf [825] ●
is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the
clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person.
No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the 682
neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will
be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes 754
and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been
killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his
blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's [825]
hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put
into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of [777]
the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates
that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763

777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their 726
faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 714

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and
Aʟk'untā'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most
traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the
fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Aʟk'untā'm's mother,
Nūnusōmik·eeqone'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long
snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was
transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the
deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition,
the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Aʟk'untā'm, the
stake being the salmon. Aʟk'untā'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[825] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38,
where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another
tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl.
In the tradition quoted above, Aʟk'untā'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the
sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House
of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[796] Bella Coola which is called kū'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsā'eqa
of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in
[575] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kū'siut is of equal
importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the
Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials per-
formed during the kū'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths:
therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials.
Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII)
are Senx, Aʟk'untā'm, and Snūʟk'ulx·ā'ls. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kū'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Six·sek·ilai'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death
of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are
four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty
to kill those who transgress the laws of the kū'siut. This deity is men-
tioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-seik Kallai.[4] Nusnē'neq'als (Plate
VII, Fig. 7), or the Snēnē'iq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

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[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 293.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 388.

772 775 their kū'siut. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anōeʟ'axsaʟai'x·. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

773 825 [823] The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mia'ltoa. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwī'na lived at Q'ō'mqōtis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwī'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mia'ltoa. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking in regard to this matter. I asked my father the Sun (see Chap. V) to give us salmon, and I think he gave you the dream which you told us."

All the birds agreed, and they resolved to start as soon as possible. Then Winwī'na asked Masmasalā'nix to build a canoe. The latter complied with his request, and made a self-moving canoe, to which he gave the names "Winaiōtstuls" and "Kunkunu'qstuls." In the third moon after the winter solstice the canoe was completed, and Winwī'na started, accompanied by the clouds, the birds, and by all the animals. The Hermaphrodite was sitting in the stern of the canoe. They went down the fiord; and when they passed the village of Bella Bella, they saw the Cormorant sitting on the beach, who asked to be taken along as a passenger. They travelled westward for a long time, and finally they reached the country of the Salmon. They saw that there were no trees. The country was a vast prairie. A large sun was shining in the sky. Soon they descried the village of the Salmon. They sent out the Raven as a spy. When he returned, he told them that in the evening the Salmon were in the habit of playing on the beach. Mink suggested that this would be the best time for carrying some of them away. Then the Crane (according to another version, the Hawk) said, "I shall carry away the Sockeye Salmon." The Wren said, "I shall carry away the Humpback Salmon." The Kingfisher (according to another version, the Crane) said, "I shall carry away the Dog Salmon." The Raven said, "I shall carry away the Silver Salmon." The Fish-Hawk said, "I shall carry away the Olachen and the Salmon Trout." The Cloud said, "I shall carry away the Spring Salmon." Finally the Cormorant said, "I am only a passenger, and I will take whatever I can get." The Mink remarked, "I will not say what I am going to carry away: I only want to tell you that you must each take one male and one female. Now start. You are invisible to the Salmon. When you approach them, they will not be able to see you, just as we cannot see the ghosts, even when they are walking by our side." They left Winwī'na to guard the canoe. Then all the birds and the Mink took each one male and one female child of the various kinds of fish. When they carried them off, the children fainted, as though their souls had been taken away. Their bodies remained at the place where they had been playing. The Salmon did not see their captors, and did not know why the children were fainting. The birds returned to the canoe, carrying the fish. Then Winwī'na said, "Let us go on and see what is beyond the country of the Salmon." Soon they arrived at a place called Qoalā'nia (this name is not quite certain), in which vast numbers of berries were growing. Here the Hermaphrodite went ashore, and picked all kinds of berries, which she carried into the canoe. Then they returned home. For seven months they had staid in the country of the Salmon. They reached the coast shortly after the winter solstice (?). When they passed Bella Bella, the Cormorant

773 825 said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Wisweʹqa arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sockeye salmon	[illegible]	[illegible] ("very long")
Humpback salmon	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dog salmon	[illegible]	[illegible] ("hot weather")
Silver salmon	[illegible]	[illegible] ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp.?)	——	[illegible]
Cloud	[illegible]	[illegible] ("long head")
Hawk (?)	[illegible]	[illegible] ("looking down into water")
Wren	[illegible]	[illegible] ("jumper")
Crane	[illegible]	[illegible]
Raven	[illegible]	[illegible] ("rising early")
Cormorant	[illegible]	[illegible]
Hermaphrodite	[illegible]	[illegible]

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Wisweʹqa's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "Nōʹak·nem" or "Nunuk·uaʹtenem," which brings the kūʹsiut ceremonial, arrives from the country [illegible]. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named [illegible] at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called [illegible]. In the house live three men who are named [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kūʹsiut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some 539
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tm! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Tsa'lao.'it was killed at one time by an 773
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to
the tribe of the village Nusxe'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] 776
by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. [170]
Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awī'k'ēnôx of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'tsis is the father of all 776
mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'tsis, it 825
will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black [821]
mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges
forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, [532]
Fig. 1). His herald is called Axaila'tsnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3);
the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4);
the Mountain, tsi'spis (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6). [575]

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible], p. [illegible]